THE SIMPLE COBLER OF AGGAVVAM in AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and ſole, with all the honeſt ſtitches he can take.

And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old Engliſh wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purſes.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

In rebus arduis ac tenuis ſpe, fortiſſima quæque conſilia tutiſſima ſunt. Cic.

In Engliſh,
When bootes and ſhoes are torne up to the lefts,
Coblers muſt thruſt their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles grauum*:
Ne Suter quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. D. & R. I.* for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the ſigne of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

b 37. c 39

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By a Friend.

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SUTOR ULTRA CREPIDAM.

EITHER I am in an Appoplexie, or that man is in a Lethargie, who doth not now ſenſibly feele God ſhaking the heavens over his head, and the earth under his feet: The Heavens ſo, as the Sun begins to turne into darkneſſe, the Moon into blood, the Starres to fall down to the ground; So that little Light of Comfort or Counſell is left to the ſonnes of men: The Earth ſo, as the foundations are failing, the righteous ſcarce know where to finde reſt, the inhabitants ſtagger like drunken men: it is in a manner diſſolved both in Religions and Relations: And no marvell; for, they have defiled it by tranſgreſſing the Laws, changing the Ordinances, and breaking the Everlaſting Covenant. The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States and Churches may ſtand quiet if they will; if they will not, He can eaſily ſhake them off into deluſions, and diſtractions enough.

Sathan

Sathan is now in his paſſions, he feeles his paſſion approaching; hee loves to fiſh in royled waters. Though that Dragon cannot ſting the vitals of the Elect mortally, yet that Beelzebub can fly-blow their Intellectuals miſerably: The finer Religion grows, the finer hee ſpins his Cobwebs, hee will hold pace with Chriſt ſo long as his wits will ſerve him. Hee ſees himſelfe beaten out of groſſe Idolatries, Hereſies, Ceremonies, where the Light breakes forth with power; he will therefore beſtirre him to prevaricate Evangelicall Truths, and Ordinances, that if they will needs be walking, yet they ſhall *laborare varicibus*, and not keep their path: he will put them out of time and place; Aſſaſſinating for his Engineers, men of Paracelſian parts; well complexioned for honeſty; for, ſuch are fitteſt to Mountebanke his Chimiſtry into ſick Churches and weake Judgements.

Nor ſhall hee neede to ſtretch his ſtrength overmuch in this worke: Too many men having not laid their foundations ſure, nor ballaſted their Spirits deepe with humility and feare, are preſt enough of themſelves to evaporate their owne apprehenſions. Thoſe that are acquainted with Story know, it hath ever been ſo in new Editions of Churches: Such as are leaſt able, are moſt buſie to pudder in the rubbiſh, and to raiſe duſt in the eyes of more ſteady Repayrers. Civill Commotions make roome for uncivill practiſes: Religious mutations, for irreligious opinions: Change of Aire, diſcovers corrupt bodies; Reformation of Religion, unſound mindes. He that hath any well-faced phanſy in his Crowne, and doth

not

not vent it now, fears the pride of his owne heart will dub him dunce for ever. Such a one will trouble the whole *Iſrael* of God with his moſt untimely births, though he makes the bones of his vanity ſticke up, to the view and griefe of all that are godly wiſe. The devill deſires no better ſport then to ſee light heads handle their heels, and fetch their carreers in a time, when the Roofe of Liberty ſtands open.

The next perplexed Queſtion, with pious and ponderous men, will be: What ſhould bee done for the healing of theſe comfortleſſe exulcerations. J am the unableſt adviſer of a thouſand, the unworthieſt of ten thouſand; yet J hope J may preſume to aſſert what follows without juſt offence.

Firſt, ſuch as have given or taken any unfriendly reports of us *New-Engliſh*, ſhould doe well to recollect themſelves. We have beene reputed a Colluvies of wild Opinioniſts, ſwarmed into a remote wildernes to find elbow-roome for our phanatick Doctrines and practiſes: J truſt our diligence paſt, and conſtant ſedulity againſt ſuch perſons and courſes, will plead better things for us. J dare take upon me, to bee the Herauld of *New-England* ſo farre, as to proclaime to the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Familiſts, Antinomians, Anabaptiſts, and other Enthuſiaſts, ſhall have free Liberty to keep away from us, and ſuch as will come to be gone as faſt as they can, the ſooner the beter.

Secondly, J dare averre, that God doth no where in his word tolerate Chriſtian States, to give Tolerations to ſuch adverſaries of his Truth, if they have power in their hands to ſuppreſſe them.

Here is lately brought us an Extract of a *Magna Charta*, ſo called, compiled between the Sub-planters of a *Weſt Indian* Iſland; whereof the firſt Article of conſtipulation, firmely provides free ſtable-room and litter for all kinde of conſciences, be they never ſo durty or jadiſh; making it actionable, yea, treaſonable, to diſturbe any man in his Religion, or to diſcommend it, what ever it be. Wee are very ſorry to ſee ſuch profeſſed prophaneneſſe in *Engliſh* profeſſors, as induſtriouſly to lay their Religious foundations on the ruine of true Religion; which ſtrictly binds every conſcience to contend earneſtly for the Truth: to preſerve unity of ſpirit, faith and Ordinances, to be all like-minded, of one accord; every man to take his brother into his Chriſtian care: to ſtand faſt with one ſpirit, with one mind, ſtriving together for the faith of the Goſpel: and by no meanes to permit Hereſies or erroneous opinions: But God abhorring ſuch loathſome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blaſted that enterprize, which might otherwiſe have proſpered well, for ought I know: I preſume their caſe is generally knowne ere this.

If the devill might have his free option, I beleeve he would ask nothing elſe, but liberty to enfranchize all falſe Religions, and to imbondage the true; nor ſhould hee need: It is much to be feared, that laxe Tolerations upon State pretences and planting neceſſities, will be the next ſubtle Stratagem he will ſpread, to diſtate the Truth of God and ſupplant the peace of the Churches. Tolerations in things tolerable, exquiſitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture, and penſill of the Spirit, are the ſacred favours of Truth,

the

the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartiments of Cnriſtian fraternity: but irregular diſpenſations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error, the redoubts of Schiſme, the perillous irritaments of carnall and ſpirituall enmity.

My heart hath naturally deteſted foure things: The ſtanding of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth; Alchymized coines; Tolerations of divers Religions, or of one Religion in ſegregant ſhapes: He that willingly aſſents to the laſt, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conſcience will tell him, he is either an Atheiſt, or an Heretique, or an Hypocrite, or at beſt a captive to ſome Luſt: poly-piety is the greateſt impiety in the world. True Religion is *Ignis probationis*, which doth *congregare homogenea & ſegregare heterogenea.*

Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak conſciences, argues a conſcience too ſtrong: preſſed uniformity in theſe, cauſes much diſunity: To tolerate more then indifferents, is not to deale indifferently with God? He that doth it, takes his Scepter out of his hand, and bids him ſtand by. Who hath to doe to inſtitute Religion but God. The power of all Religion and Ordinances, lies in their purity: their purity in their ſimplicity: then are mixtures pernicious. I lived in a City, where a Papiſt preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calviniſt in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calviniſt the other, in the ſame Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopard-like.

If the whole Creature ſhould conſpire to doe the Creator a miſchiefe, or offer him an inſolency, it

would be in nothing more, than in erecting untruths againſt his Truth, or by ſophiſticating his Truths with humane medleyes: the removing of ſome one jota in Scripture, may draw out all the life, and traverſe all the Truth of the whole Bible: but to authoriſe an untruth, by a Toleration of State, is to build a Sconce againſt the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his Chaire: To tell a practicall lye, is a great ſin, but yet tranſient; but to ſet up a Theoricall untruth, is to warrant every lye that lies from its root to the top of every branch it hath, which are not a few.

I would willingly hope that no Member of the Parliament hath skilfully ingratiated himſelf into the hearts of the Houſe, that he might watch a time to midwife out ſome ungracious Toleration for his own turne, and for the ſake of that, ſome other, I would alſo hope that a word of generall caution ſhould not be particularly miſapplied. I am the freer to ſuggeſt it, becauſe I know not one man of that minde, my aime is generall, and I deſire may be ſo accepted. Yet good Gentlemen, look well about you, and remember how *Tiberius* play'd the Fox with the Senate of *Rome*, and how *Fabius Maximus* cropt his eares for his cunning.

That State is wiſe, that will improve all paines and patience rather to compoſe, then tolerate differences in Religion. There is no divine Truth, but hath much Cœleſtiall fire in it from the Spirit of Truth: nor no irreligious untruth, without its proportion of Antifire from the ſpirit of Error to contradict it: the zeale of the one, the virulency of the other, muſt neceſſarily kindle Combuſtions. Fiery diſeaſes ſeated in the ſpirit, imbroile the whole frame of the body: others

more

more exrernall and coole, are leſſe dangerous. They which divide in Religion, divide in God; they who divide in him, divide beyond *Genus Generaliſsimum*, where there is no reconciliation, without atonement; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is alſo one.

Wiſe are thoſe men who will be perſwaded rather to live within the pale of Truth where they may bee quiet, than in the purlieves, where they are ſure to be hunted ever and anon, do Authority what it can. Every ſingular Opinion, hath a ſingular opinion of it ſelf; and he that holds it a ſingular opinion of himſelf, and a ſimple opinion of all contra-ſentients: he that confutes them, muſt confute all three at once, or elſe he does nothing; which will not be done without more ſtir than the peace of the State or Church can indure.

And prudent are thoſe Chriſtians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazard all by yeelding nothing. To ſell all peace of Country, to buy ſome peace of Conſcience unſeaſonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience: they deale not equally, that ſet any Truth of God at ſuch a rate; but they deale wiſely that will ſtay till the Market is fallen.

My prognoſticks deceive me not a little, if once within three ſeven years, peace prove not ſuch a penny-worth at moſt Marts in Chriſtendome, that hee that would not lay down his money, his luſt, his opinion, his will, I had almoſt ſaid the beſt flower of his Crown for it, while he might have had it; will tell his own heart, he plaid the very ill husband.

Concerning Tolerations I may further aſſert.

That Perſecution of true Religion, and Toleration of falſe, are the *Jannes* and *Jambres* to the Kingdome of Chriſt, whereof the laſt is farre the worſt. *Auguſtines* tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though it had never ſpake word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi.*

Frederick Duke of *Saxon*, ſpake not one foote beyond the mark when he ſaid. He had rather the Earth ſhould ſwallow him up quick, then he ſhould give a toleration to any opinion againſt any truth of God.

He that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or diſcrepant way of Religion, beſides his own, unleſſe it be in matters meerly indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not ſincere in it.

He that is willing to tolerate any unſound Opinion, that his own may alſo be tolerated, though never ſo ſound, will for a need hang Gods Bible at the Devils girdle.

Every Toleration of falſe Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errours and ſins in it, as all the falſe Religions and Opinions it tolerats, and one ſound one more.

That State that will give Liberty of Conſcience in matters of Religion, muſt give Liberty of Conſcience and Converſation in their Morall Laws, or elſe the Fiddle will be out of tune, and ſome of the ſtrings crake.

He that will rather make an irreligious quarell with other Religions, then try the Truth of his own by valuable Arguments, and peaceable Sufferings; either his Religion, or himſelfe is irreligious.

Experience will teach Churches and Chriſtians tha

that it is farre better to live in a State united, though a little Corrupt, then in a State, whereof ſome Part is incorrupt, and all the reſt divided.

I am not altogether ignorant of the eight Rules given by Orthodox Divines about giving Tolerations, yet with their favour I dare affirme,

That there is no Rule given by God for any State to give an affirmative Toleration to any falſe Religion, or Opinion whatſoever; they muſt connive in ſome Caſes, but may not concede in any.

That the State of *England* (ſo farre as my Intelligence ſerves) might in time have prevented with eaſe, and may yet without any great difficulty deny both Toleration, and irregular connivences *ſalva Republica*.

That if the State of *England* ſhall either willingly Tolerate, or weakly connive at ſuch Courſes, the Church of that Kingdome will ſooner become the Devills Dancing-Schoole, then Gods-Temple: The Civill State a Beare-garden, then an Exchange: The whole Realme a Pais baſe then an *England*. And what pity it is, that that Country which hath been the Staple of Truth to all Chriſtendome, ſhould now become the Aviary of Errors to the whole world, let every fearing heart judge.

I take Liberty of Conſcience to be nothing but a freedome from ſinne, and error. *Conſcientia in tantum libera, in quantum ab errore liberata*. And liberty of Error nothing but a Priſon for Conſcience. Then ſmall will bee the kindneſſe of a State to build ſuch Priſons for their Subjects.

The Scripture ſaith, there is nothing makes free but Truth, and Truth ſaith, there is no Truth but one:

If

If the States of the World would make it their ſumoperous Care to preſerve this One Truth in its purity and Authority it would eaſe them of all other Politicall cares. I am ſure Satan makes it his grand, if not onely taske, to adulterate Truth; Falſhood is his ſole Scepter, whereby he firſt ruffled, and ever ſince ruined the World.

If Truth be but One, me thinks all the Opinioniſts in *England* ſhould not be all in that One Truth, ſome of them I doubt are out. He that can extract an unity out of ſuch a diſparity, or contract ſuch a diſparity into an unity; had need be a better Artiſt, then ever was *Drebell.*

If two Centers (as we may ſuppoſe) be in one Circle, and lines drawn from both to all the points of the Compaſſe, they will certainly croſſe one another, and probably cut through the Centers themſelves.

There is talke of an univerſall Toleration, I would talke as loud as I could againſt it, did I know what more apt and reaſonable Sacrifice *England* could offer to God for his late performing all his heavenly Truths, then an univerſall Toleration of all helliſh Errors, or how they ſhall make an univerſall Reformation, but by making Chriſts Academy the Devils Univerſity, where any man may commence Heretique *per ſaltum*; where he that is *filius Diabolicus*, or *ſimpliciter peſſimus*, may have his grace to goe to hell *cum Publico Privilegio*; and carry as many after him, as he can.

Religio docenda eſt, *non coercenda* is a pretty piece of *album Latinum* for ſome kinde of throats that are willingly ſore, but *Hæreſis dedocenda eſt non permittenda*, will be found in a farre better *Diamoron* for the Gargariſme

garisines this Age wants, if timely and throughly applyed.

If there be roome in *England* for

	Familists		*Manes*
	Libertines		*Lemures*
	Erastians		*Dryades*
	Antitrinitarians		*Homadryades*
	Anabaptists		*Potamides*
	Antiscripturists		*Naiades*
	Arminians		*Hinnides*
	Manifestarians		*Pierides*
	Millinaries	then room for	*Nereides*
	Antinomians		*Pales*
	Socinians		*Anonides*
	Arrians		*Parcades*
	Perfectists		*Castalides*
	Brownists *		*Monides*
Religious	*Mortalians*		*Charites*
Men but	*Seekers*	Good Spi-	*Heliconides*
pernicious	*Enthusiasts*,	rits, but ve-	*Pegasides*.
Heretiques	*&c.*	ry Devils.	*&c.*

In a word room for Hell above ground.

* By Brownists I mean not Independents, but dew-clawd Seperatists: farre be it from me to wrong godly Independents. I truely acknowledge that I judge my self neither able nor worthy to honour some of them as they deserve.

It is said, Though a man have light enough himselfe to see the Truth, yet if he hath not enough to enlighten others, he is bound to tolerate them, I will engage my self, that all the Devills in *Britanie* shall sell themselves to their shirts, to purchase a Lease of this Position for three of their Lives, under the Seale of the Parliament.

It is likewiſe ſaid, That men ought to have Liberty of their Conſcience, and that it is perſecution to debarre them of it: I can rather ſtand amazed then reply to this: it is an aſtoniſhment to think that the braines of men ſhould be parboyl'd in ſuch wilfull ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Aſſertion worſe then this (one excepted) I will petition to be choſen the univerſall Ideot of the World.

But why dwell I ſo intolerable long about Tolerations, I hope my feares are but panick, againſt which I have a double cordiall. Firſt, That the Parliament will not though they could: Secondly, that they cannot though they would grant ſuch Tolerations. God who hath ſo honoured them with eminent wiſdome in all other things, will not ſuffer them to caſt both his, and their Honour in the duſt of perpetuall Infamy, doe what they can; nor ſhall thoſe who have ſpent ſo great a part of their ſubſtance in redeeming their Civill Liberties from Uſurpation, loſe all that remaines in enthralling their ſpirituall Liberty by Toleration.

It is ſaid Opinioniſts are many, and ſtrong, that *de ſunt Vires*, that it is *turbata reſpublica*, I am very ſorry for it, but more ſorry, if deſpondency of minde ſhall cauſe the leaſt tergiverſation in Gods Worthies, who have receiv'd ſuch pledges of his preſence in their late Counſels, and Conflicts. It is not thouſands of Opinioniſts that can pinion his Everlaſting armes, I can hardly beleeve there is a greater unbeleever then my Selfe, yet I can verily beleeve that the God of Truth will in a ſhort time ſcatter them all like ſmoake before

fore the wind. I confeſſe I am troubled to ſee Men ſo over-troubled about them; I am rather glad to heare the Devill is breaking up houſe in *England*, and removing ſomewhither elſe, give him leave to ſell all his rags, and odde-ends by the out cry; and let his petty Chapmen make their Market while they may, upon my poore credit it will not laſt long. Hee that hath done ſo much for *England* will goe on to perfect his owne praiſe, and his Peoples Peace: Let good men ſtand ſtill, and behold his further Salvation. He that ſitteth in the Heavens laughs at them, the moſt High hath them in Deriſion, and their folly ſhall certainly be manifeſted to all men.

Yet I dare not but adde, and in the Name of God will adde, that if any Publique members of Church or State, have been either open fautors, or privie abetters of any blaſphemous, contagious Opinions; It will be their wiſedome to proportion their repentance to their Sin, before God makes them Publique monuments of Ignominie, and Apoſtaſie.

Thirdly, That all Chriſtian States, ought to diſavow and decry all ſuch Errors, by ſome peremptory Statutary Act, and that in time, that Subjects knowing fully the minde of the State, might not delude themſelves with vaine hopes of unſufferable Liberties. It is leſſe to ſay, *Statuatur veritas, ruat Regnum*, than *Fiat juſtitia, ruat Cœlum*; but there is no ſuch danger in either of them. Feare nothing Gentlemen, *Rubiconem tranſiiſtis, jacta eſt alea*, ye have turned the Devill out of doores; fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, leſt he makes another errand for it againe. *Quæ relinquuntur in morbis poſt indicationem,*

tionem, recidivas facere conſuevere. Chriſt would have his Church without ſpot or wrinckle; They that help make it ſo, ſhall loſe neither honour nor labour: If yee be wiſe, ſuffer no more thorns in his ſides or your owne. When God kindles ſuch fires as theſe, hee doth not uſually quench them, till the very ſcum on the pot ſides be boyled cleane away, *Ezek.* 24. 10, 11. Yee were better to doe it your ſelves, than leave it to him: the Arme of the Lord is mighty, his hand very heavy; who can dwell with his devouring fire, and long-laſting burnings?

Fourthly, to make ſpeedy proviſion againſt Obſtinates and Diſſeminaries: where under favour, two things will bee found requiſite. Firſt, variety of penaltyes, I meane certaine, not indefinite: I am a Crabbat againſt Arbitrary Government. Experience hath taught us here, that politicall, domeſticall, and perſonall reſpects, will not admit one and the ſame remedy for all, without ſad inconveniences. Secondly, juſt ſeverity: perſecution hath ever ſpread Truth, proſecution ſcattered Errour: Ten of the moſt Chriſtian Emperors, found that way beſt; Schollars know whom I mean: Five of the ancient Fathers perſwaded to it, of whom *Auguſtine* was one, who for a time argued hard for indulgency: but upon conference with other prudent Biſhops, altered his judgement, as appears in three of his Epiſtles, to *Marcellinus*, *Donatus*, and *Boniface*. I would be underſtood, not onely an Allower, but an humble Petitioner, that ignorant and tender conſcienced Anabaptiſts may have due time and means of conviction.

Fifthly, That every Prophet, to whom God hath given

given the tongue of the learned, ſhould teach, and every Angel who hath a pen and inkehorne by his ſide write againſt theſe grieving extravagancies: writing of many books, I grant is irkeſome, reading endleſſe. A reaſonable man would think Divines had declaimed ſufficiently upon theſe Themes. I have ever thought the Rule given, *Titus* 3. 10. which cuts the work ſhort and ſharpe to be more properly prevalent, then weariſome waiting upon unweariable Spirits. It is a moſt toylſome taske to run the wild-gooſe chaſe after a well-breath'd Opinioniſt: they delight in vitilitigation: it is an itch that loves alife to be ſcrub'd: they deſire not ſatisfaction, but ſatisdiction, whereof themſelves muſt be judges: yet in new eruptions of Error with new objections, ſilence is ſinfull.

As for my ſelfe, I am none of the diſputers of this world: all I can doe, is to gueſſe when men ſpeake true or falſe divinity: if I can but finde the parentall roote, or formall reaſon of a Truth, I am quiet; if I cannot, I ſhore up my ſlender judgement as long as I can, with two or three the handſomeſt props I can get: I ſhall therefore leave Arguments to acuter heads, and onely ſpeake a word of Love, with all Chriſtian reſpect to our deare brethren in *England*, which are againſt baptizing of Infants: I intreate them to conſider theſe few things ſeriouſly and meekly. Firſt, what a high pitch of boldneſſe it is for man to cut a principall Ordinance out of the Kingdome of God; if it be but to make a diſlocation, which ſo far diſgoods the Ordinance, I feare it altogether unhallows it, to tranſplace or tranſtime a ſtated Inſtitu-

tion of Chriſt, without his direction, I thinke, is to deſtroy it. Secondly, what a Cruelty it is to deveſt Children of that onely externall priviledge which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them, to intereſt them viſibly in Himſelfe, His Son, His Spirit, His Covenant of Grace, and the tender boſome of their carefull Mother the Church. Thirdly, what an Inhumanity it is, to deprive Parents of that comfort they may take from the baptiſme of their Infants dying in their Childehood. Fourthly, How unſeaſonable and unkindely it is, to interturbe the State and Church with theſe Amalekitiſh onſets, when they are in their extreame pangs of travell with their lives. Fifthly, to take a through view of thoſe who have preambled this by-path. Being ſometimes in the Crowds of foraigne Wederdopers, that is, Anabaptiſts; and prying into their inward frames with the beſt eyes I had; I could not but obſerve theſe diſguiſed guiſes in the generality of them.

Firſt, a flat formality of Spirit without ſalt or ſavour in the ſpiritualties of Chriſt, as if their Religion began and ended in their Opinion. Secondly, a ſhallow ſlighting of ſuch as diſſent from them, appearing too often in their faces, ſpeeches and carriages. Thirdly, a feeble, yet peremptory obſtinacy; ſeldome are any of them reclaimed. Fourthly, a ſhamefull ſliding into other ſuch tarpauling tenets, to keep themſelves dry from the ſhowers of Juſtice, as a rationall minde would never entertain, if it were not Errour-blaſted from Heaven and Hell: I ſhould as ſhrewdly ſuſpect that Opinion, that will cordially corrive with two or three ſottiſh errours, as that faith that can profeſſedly live

live with two or three ſordid ſins. J dare not feare our godly Brethren in *England* to be yet comming to this paſſe; how ſoon they may, themſelves know not; the times are ſlippery: They will undoubtedly finde God as jealous of his Ordinances, as themſelves are zealous of their Opinions.

Sixthly, that Authority ought to ſee their Subjects children baptized, though their Parents judgements be againſt it, if there be no other Evangelicall barre in the way.

Seventhly, that prudent men, eſpecially young, ſhould doe well not to ingage themſelves in conference with Erroriſts, without a good calling and great caution; their breath is contagious, their leprey ſpreading: receive not him that is weak, ſaith the Apoſtle, to doubtfull diſputations; much leſſe may they run themſelves into dangerous Sophiſtications. He uſually hears beſt in their meetings, that ſtops his eares cloſeſt; he opens his mouth to beſt purpoſe, that keeps it ſhut, and he doth beſt of all, that declines their company as wiſely as he may.

Brethren, have an extraordinary care alſo of the late Theoſophers, that teach men to climbe to heaven upon a ladder of lying figments. Rather then the devill will loſe his game, he will out-ſhoot Chriſt in his owne bow; he will outlaw the Law, quite out of the word and world: over-Goſpell the Goſpell, and quidanye Chriſt, with Sugar and Rats-bane. Hee was Profeſſour not long ſince at *Schleſtat* in *Alſatia*, where he learned, that no poyſon is ſo deadly as the poyſon of Grace.

The wiſeſt way, when all is ſaid, is with all humility

lity and feare, to take Chriſt as himſelfe hath revealed himſelfe in his Goſpel, and not as the Devill preſents him to preſtigiated phanſies. I have ever hated the way of the Roſie-Crucians, who reject things as Gods wiſdome hath tempered them, and will have nothing but their Spirits. If I were to give phyſick to Spryts, I would doe ſo too: but when I want phyſick for my body, I would not have my ſoule tartared: nor my Animall Spirits purged any way, but by my Naturall, and thoſe by my bodily humours, and thoſe by ſuch Ordinaries, as have the neareſt vicinage to them, and not by Metaphyſicall Limberkings. I cannot thinke that *materia prima* or *ſecunda*, ſhould bee good for me, that am at leaſt, *Materia milleſsima ſexcenteſima quadrageſima quinta.*

Here I hold my ſelfe bound to ſet up a Beacon, to give warning of a new-ſprung Sect of Phrantaſticks, which would perſwade themſelves and others, that they have diſcovered the Nor-weſt paſſage to Heaven. Theſe wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners ſuch bold ignotions of a new Goſpell, new Chriſt, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unſetled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God. I deſire all good men may be ſaved from their Lunatick Creed, by Infidelity; and rather beleeve theſe torrid overtures will prove in time, nothing but horrid raptures downe to the loweſt hell, from which he that would be delivered, let him avoid theſe blaſphemers, a late fry of croaking Frogs, not to be indured in a Religious State, no if it were poſſible, not an houre.

As ſome are playing young Spaniels, queſting at every

every bird that riſes; ſo others, held very good men, are at a dead ſtand, not knowing what to doe or ſay; and are therefore called Seekers, looking for new Nuntio's from Chriſt, to aſſoile theſe benighted queſtions, and to give new Orders for new Churches. I crave leave with all reſpect to tell them, that if they looke into *Act.* 20.20.25. *Gal.* 1.8,9. 1 *Tim.*6.13.16. and finde them not there; they may happily ſeeke as the young Prophets did for *Eliah's* corps, where it never was, nor ever will be found.

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghoſt ſhould give *Tim:* the ſolemneſt charge, was ever given mortall man, to obſerve the Rules he had given, till the comming of Chriſt, if new things muſt be expected.

Woe be to them, who ever they be, that ſo trouble the wayes of God that they who have found the way to heaven, cannot find the way to Church: And woe be to them, that ſo gaze at the glorious light, they ſay, will breake forth in the thouſand yeares to come, that they make little of the gracious Truth that hath been revealed theſe ſixteen hundred years paſt. And woe be to them that ſo under-value the firſt Maſter-Builders, I mean the Apoſtles of Chriſt, that unleſſe he ſends wiſer then they, He muſt be accounted leſſe faithfull in his houſe than *Moſes* was.

I have cauſe enough to be as charitable to others as any man living; yet I cannot but feare, that thoſe men never Moored their Anchors well in the firme ſoile of Heaven, that are weather-waſt up and down with every eddy-wind of every new doctrine. The good Spirit of God doth not uſually tie up the Helme, and ſuffer paſſengers to heaven to ride a drift,

hither and thither, as every wave and current carries them: that is a fitter course for such as the Apostle calls wandring Starres and Meteors, without any certaine motion, hurryed about with tempests, bred of the Exhalations of their owne pride and selfe-wittednesse: whose damnation sleepeth not, and to whom the mist of darknesse is reserved for ever, that they may suffer irreparable shipwrack upon the Sands and Rocks of their owne Errors, being of old ordained to condemnation.

Eightly, let all considerate men beware of ungrounded opinions in Religion: Since I knew what to feare, my heart hath dreaded three things: a blazing starre appearing in the aire: a State Comet, I meane a favourite rising in a Kingdome; a new Opinion spreading in Religion: these are Exorbitancies: which is a formidable word; a *vacuum* and an exorbitancy, are mundicidious evils, Concerning Novelties of opinions, I shall expresse my thoughts in these briefe passages. First, that Truth is the best boone God ever gave the world: there is nothing in the world, world, any further then Truth makes it so, it is better then any creat' *Ens* or *Bonum*, which are but Truths twins. Secondly, the least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole kingdome of his Truths; Take away the least *vericulum* out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conserved by an Arme of extraordinary power. Thirdly, the least Evangelicall Truth is more worth than all the Civill Truths in the world, that are meerly so. Fourthly, that Truth is the Parent of all liberty

berty whether politicall or perſonall; ſo much untruth, ſo much thraldome, *Iohn* 8.32.

Hence it is, that God is ſo jealous of his Truths, that he hath taken order in his due juſtice: Firſt, that no practicall ſin is ſo ſinfull as ſome errour in judgement; no men ſo accurſed with indelible infamy and dedolent impenitency, as Authours of Hereſie. Secondly, that the leaſt Error, if grown ſturdy and preſſed, ſhall ſet open the Spittle-doore of all the ſquint-ey'd, wry-necked, and braſen faced Errors that are or ever were of of that litter; if they be not enough to ſerve its turne, it will beget more, though it hath not one cruſt of reaſon to maintain them. Thirdly, that that State which will permit Errors in Religion, ſhall admit Errors in Policy unavoydable. Fourthly, that that Policy which will ſuffer irreligious errors, ſhall ſuffer the loſſe of ſo much Liberty in one kind or other, I will not exempt *Venice*, *Rhaguſe*, the *Nether-lands*, or any.

An eaſie head may ſoon demonſtrate, that the prementioned Planters, by Tolerating all Religions, had immazed themſelves in the moſt intolerable confuſions and inextricable thraldomes the world ever heard of. I am perſwaded the Devill himſelfe was never willing with their proceedings, for feare it would break his winde and wits to attend ſuch a Province. I ſpeak it ſeriouſly according to my meaning. How all Religions ſhould enjoy their liberty, Juſtice its due regularity, Civill cohabitation morall honeſty, in one and the ſame Juriſdiction, is beyond the Artique of my comprehenſion. If the whole conclave of Hell can ſo compromiſe, exadverſe, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize ſuch a multimonſtrous

maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I truſt I may ſay with all humble reverence, they can do more then the Senate of Heaven. My *modus loquendi* pardoned: I intirely wiſh much welfare and more wiſdom to that Plantation.

It is greatly to be lamented, to obſerve the wanton fearleſſeneſſe of this Age, eſpecially of younger profeſſors, to greet new opinions and Opinioniſts: as if former truths were grown ſuperannuate, and ſapleſſe, if not altogether antiquate. *Non ſeneſcet veritas.* No man ever ſaw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinckle, or morphew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the year long. Hee that cannot ſolace himſelfe with any ſaving truth, as affectionately as at the firſt acquaintance with it, hath not only a faſtidious, but an adulterous heart.

If all be true we heare, Never was any people under the Sun, ſo ſick of new opinions as *Engliſh-men*; nor of new faſhions as *Engliſh-women*: If God helpe not the one, and the devill leave not helping the other, a blind man may eaſily foreſee what will become of both. I have ſpoken what I intend for the preſent to men; I ſhall ſpeake a word to the women anon; in the mean time I intreat them to prepare patience.

Ninthly, that godly humble Chriſtians ought not to wonder impatiently at the wonderfull workes of God in theſe times: it is full Seaſon for him to worke Soveraign worke, to vindicate his Soveraignty, that men may feare before him. States are unſtated, Rulers growne Over-rulers, Subjects worſe then men, Churches-decayed. Toſts, Profeſſors, empty casks filled with unholy humours; I ſpeake not of all, but

too

too many; I condemne not the generation of the juſt God hath his remnant, whom hee will carefully preſerve. If it bee time for men to take up Defenſive Arms againſt ſuch as are called Gods, upon the point of *Salus populi*, it is high time for him that is God indeed, to draw his Sword againſt wormes and no men, upon the point of *Majeſtas imperii*: The piercing of his Sword ſhall diſcover the thoughts of many hearts.

Laſtly, I dare averre, that it ill becomes Chriſtians any thing well-ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpel, to meditate flight from their deare Countrey upon theſe diſturbances. Stand your grounds ye *Eleazars* and *Shammahs*, ſtir not a foot ſo long as you have halfe a foot of ground to ſtand upon: after one or two ſuch Worthies, a great Victory may be regained, and flying *Iſrael* may return to a rich ſpoile. *Engliſhmen*, be adviſed to love *England*, with your hearts and to preſerve it by your Prayers. I am bold to ſay that ſince the pure Primitive time, the Goſpel never thrived ſo well in any ſoile on earth, as in the *Brittiſh*, nor is the like goodneſſe of nature, or Cornucopian plenty elſe-where to be found: if ye loſe that Country, & find a better before yee come to Heaven, my Coſmography failes mee. I am farre from diſcouraging any, whom neceſſity of Conſcience or condition thruſts out by head and ſhoulders: if God calls any into a Wilderneſſe, Hee will bee no wilderneſſe to them, *Jer.* 2. 31. witneſſe his large beneficence to us here beyond expectation.

Ye ſay, why come not we over to helpe the Lord againſt the Mighty, in theſe Sacred battailes?

I Anſwer many here are diligently obſerving the counſell of the ſame Prophet, 22. 10. *Weep not for him that is dead, neither bemoan him; but weep for him that is gone away and ſhall returne no more to ſee his Native Country.* Divers make it an Article of our *American* Creed, which a celebrate Divine of *England* hath obſerved upon *Heb.* 11. 9. That no man ought to forſake his own countrey, but upon extraordinary cauſe, and when that cauſe ceaſeth, he is bound in conſcience to return if he can: We are looking to him who hath our hopes and ſeaſons in his only wiſe hand.

In the mean time we deſire to bow our knees before the Throne of Grace day and night, that the Lord would bee pleaſed in his tender mercy to ſtill the ſad unquietneſſe and per-peracute contentions, of that moſt comfortable and renowned Iſland, that at length He may have praiſe in his Churches, and his Churches peace in him, through Jeſus Chriſt.

Should I not keepe promiſe in ſpeaking a little to Womens faſhions, they would take it unkindly: I was loath to peſter better matter with ſuch ſtuffe; I rather thought it meet to let them ſtand by themſelves, like the *Quæ Genus* in the Grammer, being Deficients, or Redundants, not to bee brought under any Rule: I ſhall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their looſe tongue Liberty, and miſpend a word or two upon their long-waſted, but ſhort-skirted patience: a little uſe of my ſtirrup will doe no harme.

Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet?
Gray Gravity it ſelfe can well beteame,
That Language be adapted to the Theme.

He

He that to Parrots ſpeaks, muſt parrotiſe:
He that inſtructs a foole, may act th'unwiſe.

It is known more then enough, that I am neither Nigard, nor Cinick, to the due bravery of the true Gentry: if any man miſlikes a bullymong droſſock more then I, let him take her for his labour: I honour the woman that can honour her ſelfe with her attire: a good Text alwayes deſerves a fair Margent: I am not much offended, if I ſee a trimme, far trimmer than ſhe that weares it: in a word, whatever Chriſtianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with *London* meaſure: but when I heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dreſſe the Queen is in this week: what the nudiuſtertian faſhion of the Court; with egge to bee in it in all haſte, what ever it be; I looke at her as the very gizzard of a triſle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if ſhee were of a kickable ſubſtance, than either honour'd or humour'd.

To ſpeak moderately, I truly confeſſe it is beyond the ken of my underſtanding to conceive, how thoſe women ſhould have any true grace, or valuable vertue, that have ſo little wit, as to disfigure themſelves with ſuch exotick garbes, as not only diſmantles their native lovely luſtre, but tranſclours them into gant bar geeſe, ill-ſhapen-ſhotten ſhell-fiſh, Egyptian Hyeroglyphicks, or at the beſt into French fluirts of the pa[illegible]ery, which a proper Engliſh woman ſhould ſcorne with her heels: it is no marvell they weare drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it ſeems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrils brains to help them friſk from one ill-favour'd faſhion to another.

Theſe

Theſe whimm' Crown'd ſhees, theſe faſhion-fanſying wits,
Are empty thin brain'd ſhells, and fidling Kits.

The very troublers and impoveriſhers of mankind, I can hardly forbear to commend to the world a ſaying of a Lady living ſometime with the Queen of *Bohemiah*, I know not where ſhe found it, but it is pitty it ſhould be loſt.

The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble;
Women and care, and care and women, and women and care and trouble.

The Verſes are even enough for ſuch odde pegma's. I can make my ſelfe ſick at any time, with comparing the dazzeling ſplender wherwith our Gentlewomen were imbelliſhed in ſome former habits, with the gut-foundred gooſdom, wherewith they are now ſurcingled and debauched. Wee have about five or ſix of them in our Colony: if I ſee any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanſe my phanſie of them for a moneth after. I have been a ſolitary widdower almoſt twelve years, purpoſed lately to make a ſtep over to my Native Country for a yoke-fellow: but when I conſider how women there have tripe-wifed themſelves with their cladments, I have no heart to the voyage, leaſt their nauſeous ſhapes and the Sea, ſhould work too ſorely upon my ſtomach. I ſpeak ſadly; me thinkes it ſhould break the hearts of Engliſh-men, to ſee ſo many goodly Engliſh-women impriſoned in French Cages, peering out of their hood-holes for ſome men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and no body releives them.

It is a more common then convenient ſaying, that nine Taylors make a man: it were well if nineteene could

could make a woman to her minde: if Taylors were men indeed, well furniſhed but with meer morall principles, they would diſdain to be led about like Apes, by ſuch mymick Marmoſets. It is a moſt unworthy thing, for men that have bones in them, to ſpend their lives in making fidle-caſes for futulous womens phanſies; which are the very pettitoes of infirmity, the gyblets of perquiſquilian toyes. I am ſo charitable to thinke, that moſt of that myſtery would worke the cheerfuller while they live, if they might bee well diſcharged of the tyring ſlavery of miſ-tyring women: it is no little labour to be continually putting up Engliſh-women into Out-landiſh caskes; who if they be not ſhifted anew, once in a few moneths, grow too ſowre for their Husbands. What this Trade will anſwer for themſelves when God ſhall take meaſure of Taylors conſciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when

The joyning of the Red Roſe with the White,
Did ſet our State into a Damask plight.

But now our Roſes are turned to *Flore de lices*, our Carnations to Tulips, our Gilliflowers to Dayzes, our City-Dames, to an indenominable Quæmalry of overturcaſ'd things. Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need take meaſure every noone; and he that makes for women, as often, to keepe them from Lunacy.

I have often heard divers Ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the weariſome varieties and chargable changes of faſhions: I marvell themſelves pre-

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The joyning of the Red Roſe with the White,
Did ſet our State into a Damask plight.

But now our Roſes are turned to *Flore de lices*, our Carnations to Tulips, our Gilliflowers to Dayzes, our City-Dames, to an indenominable Quæmalry of overturcaſ'd things. Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need take meaſure every noone; and he that makes for women, as often, to keepe them from Lunacy.

I have often heard divers Ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearieſome varieties and chargable changes of faſhions: I marvell themſelves pre-

the Coun- and ſhires ingland e had wars hem ſince Conqueſt, Eſſex, which nely free, I ſhould be nkfull.

ferre not a Bill of redreſſe. I would *Eſſex* Ladies would lead the *Chore*, for the honour of their County and perſons; or rather the thrice honourable Ladies of the Court, whom it beſt beſeems: who may wel preſume of a *Le Roy le veult* from our ſober King, a *Les Seigneurs ont Aſſentus* from our prudent Peers, and the like *Aſſentus* from our conſiderate, I dare not ſay wife-worne Commons: who I beleeve had much rather paſſe one ſuch Bill, than pay ſo many Taylors Bils as they are forced to doe.

Moſt deare and unparallel'd Ladyes, be pleaſed to attempt it: as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature; ſo aſſume the honour to give, and not take Law from any, in matter of attire: if ye can tranſact ſo faire a motion among your ſelves unanimouſly, I dare ſay, they that moſt renite, will leaſt repent. What greater honour can your Honors deſire, then to build a Promontory preſident to all foraigne Ladies, to deſerve ſo eminently at the hands of all the Engliſh Gentry preſent and to come: and to confute the opinion of all the wiſe men in the world; who never thought it poſſible for women to doe ſo good a work?

If any man think I have ſpoken rather merrily than ſeriouſly he is much miſtaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more then I ought. I confeſſe I veer'd my tongue to this kinde of Language *de induſtriæ* though unwillingly, ſuppoſing thoſe I ſpeak to are uncapable of grave and rationall arguments.

But I addreſſe my ſelf to thoſe who can both hear & mend all if they pleaſe: I ſeriouſly feare, if the pious

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Parliament doe not finde a time to ſtate faſhions, as ancient Parliaments have done in ſome part, God will hardly finde a time to ſtate Religion or Peace: They are the ſurquedryes of pride, the wantonneſſe of idleneſſe, provoking ſins, the certain prodromies of aſſured judgement, *Zeph.*1.7,8.

It is beyond all account, how many Gentlemens and Citizens eſtates are deplumed by their feather-headed wifes, what uſefull ſupplies the pannage of *England* would afford other Countries, what rich returnes to it ſelfe, if it were not ſlic'd out into male and female fripperies: and what a multitude of miſ-imploy'd hands, might be better improv'd in ſome more manly Manufactures for the publique weale: it is not eaſily credible, what may be ſaid of the preterpluralities of Taylors in *London*: I have heard an honeſt man ſay that not long ſince there were numbered between *Temple-barre* and *Charing-croſſe*, eight thouſand of that Trade: let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about *London*, and in all *England*, they will appeare to be very numerous. If the Parliament would pleaſe to mend women, which their Husbands dare not doe, there need not ſo many men to make and 'mend as there are. I hope the preſent dolefull eſtate of the Realme, will perſwade more ſtrongly to ſome conſiderate courſe herein, than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would ſpeak a word to long haire, whereof I will ſay no more but this: if God proves not ſuch a Barbor to it as he threatens, unleſſe it be amended, *Eſa.*7.20. before the Peace of the State and Church be well ſetled, then let my pro-

phecy be ſcorned, as a ſound minde ſcornes the ryot of that ſin, and more it needs not. If thoſe who are tearmed Rattle-heads and impuritans, would take up a Reſolution to begin in moderation of haire, to the juſt reproach of thoſe that are called Puritans and Round-heads, I would honour their manlineſſe, as much as the others godlineſſe, ſo long as J knew what man or honour meant: if neither can finde a Barbours ſhop, let them turne in, to *Pſal.* 68. 21. *Jer.* 7. 29. 1 *Cor.* 11. 14. if it be thought no wiſedome in men to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the field by the Sciſſers, let it be thought no Injuſtice in God, not to diſtinguiſh them by the Sword. J had rather God ſhould know me by my ſobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his own ſin. A ſhort promiſe, is a farre ſafer guard than a long lock: it is an ill diſtinction which God is loth to looke at and his Angels cannot know his Saints by. Though it be not the mark of the Beaſt, yet it may be the mark of a beaſt prepared to ſlaughter. I am ſure men uſe not to weare ſuch manes; I am alſo ſure Souldiers uſe to weare other marklets or notadoes in time of battell.

HAving done with the upper part of my work, I would now with all humble willingneſſe ſet on the beſt peece of Soule-leather I have, did I not fear I ſhould break my Awl, which though it may be a right old Engliſh blade, yet it is but little and weake. I ſhould eſteem it the beſt piece of workmanſhip my Cobling hand ever wrought, if it would pleaſe him whoſe worke it is, to direct me to ſpeake ſuch a word

over

over the Sea, as the good old woman of *Abel* did over the wall, in the like exigent: but alas, I am but ſimple. What if I be?

When States diſhelv'd are, and Lawes untwiſt,
Wiſe-men keep their tongues, fools ſpeak what they liſt.

I would not be ſo unwiſe as to grieve the wiſe, if I were wiſe enough to foreſee it: I would ſpeake nothing to the Cauſe or Continuance of theſe weariſome Warres hitherto; the one is enough debated, the other more than enough peracted. Nor would I declaime of the uncomelineſſe, unbrotherlineſſe, unſeaſonableneſſe and unreaſonableneſſe of theſe direfull digladiations: every ſtroke ſtrucke ſounds too loud upon this harſh ſtring. I would much rather ſpeake perſwaſives to a comely brotherly ſeaſonable and reaſonable ceſſation of Armes on both ſides, by a drawn battell: Wherein if I ſhall adventure a few overbold words, I intreat my ignorance, impartiality, and Loyalty may plead pardon for me.

Foure meanes there are, and no more, within the compaſſe of my conſideration, conducing to what is deſired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hoſts taken downe, I meane by Reformation: Or to ſet up white colours inſtead of red, on one ſide or other, I meane by Compoſition: Or by furling up all the Enſignes on both ſides, I meane by mutuall and generall Ceſſation: Or by ſtill diſplaying all the Colours and Cornets of every batallion, I mean by proſecution: without Reformation there will hardly be any Compoſition; without Compoſition little hope of Ceſſation; without Ceſſation there muſt and will be Proſecution; which God forbid.

Reformation.

When the Roman Standard was defixed with ſuch difficulty at the battell betweene *Hanniball* and *Flaminius* at *Thraſimene*, it proved an ill Omen. *When God gives quietneſſe, who can make trouble: When Hee hideth his face, who can behold him? Whether it bee againſt a Nation or a man onely. That the Hypocrite reigne not, leſt the people be inſnared, Job* 34. 29.30. How can the ſword of the Lord put it ſelfe up into its ſcabbard and be quiet, when himſelfe hath given it a charge to the contrary? *Jer.*47.6,7. It was a Cardinall Truth which Cardinall *Poole* ſpake to *H.* 8. *Penes Reges eſt inferre bellum, penes autem Deum terminare.* If Kings will make their beginnings, God will make his ends: much more when himſelfe begins: when I begin, I will alſo make an end, 1 *Sam.* 3.12. Farre better were it, for men to make an end with him in time, than put him to make ſuch an end with them as he there intends.

Politicall Reformation he ſeemes to call for now *indigitanter*. When he beholds Chriſtian Kingdomes and States unſound in their foundations, illineall in their ſuperſtructures, unjuſt in their adminiſtrations; he kicks them in peeces with the foot of his Indignation: But when Religious Stateſmen frame and build by the levell and plummet of his wiſdome, then people may ſay as his ſervants of old, *Looke upon* Zion *the City of our Solemnities; Your eyes ſhall ſee it a quiet habitation, a Tabernacle that ſhall not be taken downe; not one of the ſtakes thereof ſhall be removed, neither ſhall any of the coards thereof bee broken, Iſa.* 33. 20. neither by civill commotions nor forreigne invaſions. When

the

the coards of a State are exquisitely tight, and the stakes firmely pitched; such a Tent though but a Tent shall not easily flutter or fall: But *if the Tacklings be so loose, that the maine Mast cannot stand steady, nor the saile be well spread; then may the lame take and devide a great prey*, ver. 23. If Religion, Lawes, Liberties, Affections, Conversations, and forreigne federacies be slight? the strength of strong men shall be weaknesse, and the weaknesse of the weake victorious.

Pura politeja ne unum admittit solœcismulum, neque valet, præscriptio in politicis aut moralibus. It may maintain a bright conjecture, against a rusty Truth: a legible possession, against an obliterate Claime: an inconvenience, against a convenience; where no cleare remedy may be had: but never any thing that is formally sinfull, or materially mischievous. When rotten States are soundly mended from head to foot, proportions duly admeasured, Justice justly dispenced; then shall Rulers and Subjects have peace with God and themselves: but till then, the gayest Kingdomes shall be but ruffling scuffling, removing and commoving hovells. For *England*, however the upper Stories are shroadly shattered; yet the foundations and frame being good or mendable by the Architectors now at worke, there is good hope, when peace is setled, people shall dwell more wind-tight and water-tight than formerly. I earnestly wish our Mr. Builders to remember, that punctuallity in Divinity & Politie, is but regularity; that what is amisse in the mould, will misfashion the prosult: and that if this market be slipt, things may grow as deare as ever they were. Most expert Gentlemen, bee intreated at length to set our

Head

Head right on our Shoulders, that we may once look upwards and goe forwards like proper Engliſhmen.

God will alſo have Eccleſiaſticall Reformation now, or nothing: And here he ſtands not upon Kings, Parliaments or Aſſemblies, but upon his own Termes. I feare hee will have all droſſe and baſe mettalls throughly melted away by theſe combuſtions, before hee quenches them; all his Ordinances and veſſells caſt into his owne faſhion, in his owne mould, to his owne *amuſsim*, before he reſtores peace. There was not a ſtone left upon a ſtone of the old Temple, before the new was erected. If this firſt worke bee throughly and throughoutly diſpatched as I hope it is, the great *Remora* is removed. If the Parliament and Aſſembly be pleaſed to be as curious and induſtrious as I have ſeen a great Popiſh Biſhop in execrating a Proteſtant Par. Church one day, and conſecrating it the next; they may adjourn a while with leave enough.

Some ten or twelve years before theſe Wars there came to my view theſe two Predictions.

1. *When God ſhall purge this Land with ſoap and nitre,*
Woe be to the Crowne, woe be to the Mitre.
The accent of the blow ſhall fall there.

He that pities not the Crowne, pities not his owne ſoule. Hee that pities not thoſe that wore the Mitre, more than they pitied themſelves, or the Churches over which they inſulted, or the State then corrupted and now Corruined by their pride and negligence, is to blame.

2. *There is a ſet of Biſhops comming next behind,*
Will ride the devill off his legs, and break his wind.

poore

Poore men ! they might have kept his backe till this time for ought I know, had they not put him beyond his pace : but Schollers muſt gallop, though they tumble for it. Yet I commend them for this, they gave him ſuch ſtraynes as made him blow ſhort ever ſince. I doubt the Aſſembly troubles him; and J doubt he troubles them. Well, the Biſhops are gone : Jf they have carried away with them all that was in the pockets of their Holliday hoſe, fare them well; let them come againe when J give them a new *Conge d'ſlier*, or ſend a Purſuivant for them; which if J doe, J ſhall never truſt my ſelfe more, though they have often done it for me, who never deſerved that honour. Some of them J confeſſe were very honeſt men, and would have been honeſter if they dared for their fellows.

The ſad worke now, is to inſtitute better things in their Rome, and to induct better men in their roome; rather where and how to finde thoſe things, they having cunningly laid them ſo farre out of the way; J doubt ſome good men cannot ſee them, when they look full upon them: it is like, the Biſhops carryed away their eyes with them, but I feare they left their Spectacles behinde them. I uſe no ſpectacles, yet my eyes are not fine enough, nor my hand ſteady enough to cut by ſuch fine threads as are now ſpun. I am I know not what; I cannot tell what to make of my ſelfe, nor I think no body elſe: My Trade is to finde more faults than others will mend; and I am very diligent at it; yet it ſcarſe findes me a living, though the Country finds me good ſtore of worke.

For Church work, I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent: My task is to ſit

and ſtudy how ſhapeable the Independent way will be to the body of *England*, then my head akes on one ſide; and how ſuitable the Presbyterian way, as we heare it propounded, will bee to the minde of Chriſt, then my head akes on the other ſide: but when I conſider how the Parliament will commoderate a way out of both, then my head leaves aking: I am not, without ſome contrivalls in my patching braines; but I had rather ſuppoſe them to powder, than expoſe them to preregular, much leſſe to preter-regular judgements: I ſhall therefore rejoyce that the work is faln into ſo good hands, heads, and hearts, who will weigh Rules by Troyweight, and not by the old Haber-dupois: and rather then meddle where I have ſo little skill, I will ſit by and tell my feares to them that have the patience to heare them, and leave the red-hot queſtion to them that dare handle it.

I fear many holy men have not ſo deeply humbled themſelves for their former miſ-worſhippings of God as hee will have them before hee reveales his ſecrets to them: as they accounted things indifferent, ſo they account indifferent repentance will ſerve turne. *Son of man, if my people be aſhamed of all that they have done, then ſhew them the forme of the houſe, and the faſhion thereof*, elſe not, *Ezek.* 43.11. A ſin in Gods worſhip, that ſeemes ſmall in the common beame of the world, may be very great in the ſcoales of his Sanctuary. Where God is very jealous, his ſervants ſhould be very cautelous.

I fear, the furnace wherein our new formes are caſting, is over-heat, and caſts ſmoak in the eyes of our founders, that they cannot well ſee what they doe, or ought

ought to doe; *omne perit judicium cum res transit in affectum*. Truth and peace are the *Caſtor* and *Pollux* of the Goſpel: they that ſeeke the one without the other, are like to find neither. Anger will hinder domeſtick Prayers, much more Eccleſiaſtique Counſels. What is produced by tumult, is either difficient or redundant. When the judgements of good men concurre with an harmonious Diapaſon, the reſult is melodious and commodious. Warring and jarring men are no builders of houſes for God, though otherwiſe very good. Inſtruments may be well made and well ſtrung, but if they bee not well fretted, the Muſique is marred. The great Turk hearing Muſitians ſo long a tuning, he though it ſtood not with his ſtate to wait for what would follow. When Chriſt whips Market-makers out of his Temple, he raiſes duſt: but when he enters in with Truth and Holineſſe, he calls for deep ſilence, *Hab.* 2. 20. There muſt not a toole be heard when the Tabernacle is reared: Nor is that amiable or ſerviceable to men that paſſeth through ſo many ill animadverſions of Auditors and Spectators. If the Aſſembly can hardly agree what to determine, people will not eaſily agree what to accept.

I fear, theſe differences and delayes have occaſioned men to make more new diſcoveries then otherwiſe they would. If publique Aſſemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of illiterate men, will ſoon finde a wrong. Bivious demurres breed devious reſolutions. Paſſengers to heaven are in haſte, and will walk one way or other. He that doubts of his way, thinkes hee loſes his day: and when men are gone a while, they will be loth to turn

back. If God hide his path, Satan is at hand to turn Convoy: if any have a mind to ride poſte, he will helpe them with a freſh ſpavin'd Opinion at every Stage.

Where clocks will ſtand, and Dials have no light,
There men muſt goe by gueſſe, be't wrong or right.

I feare, if the Aſſembly of all Divines, doe not conſent, and concenter the ſooner, God will breath a ſpirit of wiſdome and meekeneſſe, into the Parliament of no Divines, to whom the Imperative and Coactive power ſupremely belonges, to conſult ſuch a contemperate way, as ſhall beſt pleaſe him, and profit his Churches, ſo that it ſhall be written upon the doore of the Aſſembly; *The Lord was not there.*

I feare the importunity of ſome impatient, and ſubtlety of ſome malevolent minds, will put both Parliament and Aſſembly upon ſome preproperations, that will not bee ſafe in Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions. To procraſtinate in matters cleare, as I ſaid even now, may be dangerous; ſo, not to deliberate in dubious caſes, will be as perillous. We here, though I think under favour, wee have ſome as able Steerſmen as *England* affords, have been driven to tack about again to ſome other points of Chriſts Compaſſe, and to make better obſervations before we hoyſe up ſailes. It will be found great wiſdom in diſputable caſes, not to walk on by twylight, but very cautelouſly; rather by probationers for a time, then peremptory poſitives Reelings and wheelings in Church acts, are both difficult and diſadvantageous. It is rather Chriſtian modeſty than ſhame, in the dawning of Reformation, to be very perpenſive. Chriſts mind is, that Evangelicall

licall policies, ſhould be framed by Angelicall meaſures; not by a line of flaxe, but by a golden Reed, *Revel.*21.15.

I feare, he that ſayes, the Presbyterian and Independent way, if rightly carryed, doe not meet in one, he doth not handle his Compaſſes ſo confiderately as he ſhould.

I feare, if Authority doth not eſtabliſh a ſutable and peaceable Government of Churches the ſooner, the bells in all the ſteeples will ring awke ſo long, that they will hardly be brought into tune any more.

My laſt, but not leaſt feare, is, That God will hardly replant his Goſpel in any part of Chriſtendome, in ſo faire an Edition as is expected, till the whole field hath been ſo ploughed and harrowed, that the ſoile be throughly cleanſed and fitted for new ſeed: Or whether he will not tranſplant it into ſome other Regions, I know not: This feare I have feared theſe 20 years, but upon what grounds I had rather bury than broach.

I dare not but adde to what preceded about Church-reformation, a moſt humble petition, that the Authority of the Miniſtry be kept in its due altitude: if it be dropp'd in the duſt, it will ſoone bee ſtifled: Encroachments on both ſides, have bred detriments enough to the whole. The Separatiſts are content their teaching Elders ſhould ſit higheſt on the Bench, ſo they may ſit in the Chaire over againſt them; and that their ruling Elders ſhall ride on the ſaddle, ſo they may hold the bridle. That they may likewiſe have ſeaſonable and honorable maintenance, and that certainly ſtated: which generally we find and practiſe

here as the beſt way. When Elders live upon peoples good wills, people care little for their ill wills, be they never ſo juſt: Voluntary contributions or non-tributions of Members, put Miniſters upon many temptations in adminiſtrations of their Offices, two houres care doe more diſpirit an ingenuous man than two dayes ſtudy: nor can an Elder bee given to hoſpitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to defray it: it is pity men of gifts, ſhould live upon mens gifts. I have ſeene moſt of the Reformed Churches in Europ, and ſeene more miſery in theſe two reſpects, then it is meet othe s ſhould heare: the complaints of painfull *Pareus*, *David Pareus*, to my ſelfe, with teares, concerning the Germane Churches are not to be related.

There is yet a perſonall Reformation as requiſite as the politicall. When States are ſo reformed, that they conforme ſuch as are profligate, into good civility: civill men, into religious morality: When Churches are ſo conſtituted, that Faith is ordained Paſtour, Truth Teacher, Holineſſe and Righteouſneſſe ruling Elders: Wiſedome and Charity Deacons: Knowledge, love, hope, z ale, heavenly mindedneſſe, meekneſſe, patience, watchfulneſſe, humility, diligence, ſobriety, modeſty, chaſtity, conſtancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, ſincerity, &c. admitted members, and all their oppoſites excluded: then there will bee peace of Country and Conſcience.

Did the ſervants of Chriſt know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed ſpirits, under ſtrict order with looſe hearts, how formes of Religion breed but formes of Godlineſſe, how men by Church-

Church-diſcipline, learne their Church-poſtures, and there reſt; they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of Ordinances. If we mocke God in theſe, he will mocke us; either with defeat of our hopes, or which is worſe: when we have what we ſo much deſire, wee ſhall be ſo much the worſe for it. It was a well ſalted ſpeech, uttered by an Engliſh Chriſtian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, We have the good Orders here, but you have the good Chriſtians in *England*. Hee that prizes not Old *England* Graces, as much as New *England* Ordinances, had need goe to ſome other market before hee comes hither. In a word, hee that is not Paſtour, Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himſelfe, and lookes not at Chriſt above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent: he may be a zelot in bearing witneſſe to which he likes beſt, and yet an Iſcariot to both, in the witneſſe of his owne Conſcience.

I have upon ſtrict obſervation, ſeen ſo much power of Godlineſſe, and ſpirituall mindedneſſe in Engliſh Chriſtians, living meerly upon Sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Goſpell was little more than ſymptomaticall to the State; ſuch Epidemicall and lethall formality in other diſciplinated Churches, that I profeſſe in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in ſecret, to conſider what will become of multitudes of my dear Country-men, when they ſhall enjoy what they now covet: Not that good Ordinances breed ill Conſciences, but ill Conſciences grow ſtarke nought under good Ordinances; inſomuch that might I wiſh an hypocrite

pocrite the moſt perilous place but Hell, I ſhould wiſh him a Memberſhip in a ſtrict Reformed Church: and might I wiſh a ſincere Servant of God, the greateſt griefe earth can afford, I ſhould wiſh him to live with a pure heart, in a Church impurely Reformed; yet through the improvement of Gods Spirit, that griefe may ſanctifie him for Gods ſervice and preſence, as much as the means he would have, but cannot.

I ſpeak this the rather to prevent, what in me lyes, the imprudent romaging that is like to be in *England*, from Villages to Townes, from Townes to Cities, for Churches ſake, to the undoing of Societies, Friendſhips, Kindreds, Families, Heritages, Callings, yea, the wiſe Providence of God in diſpoſing mens habitations, now in the very Infancy of Reformation: by forgetting that a little leaven may ſeaſon a large lump: and it is much better to doe good than receive. It were a moſt uncharitable and unſerviceable part, for good men to deſert their owne Congregations, where many may glorifie God in the day of his Viſitation, for their preſence and aſſiſtance. If a Chriſtian would picke out a way to thrive in grace, let him ſtudy to adminiſter grace to them that want; or to make ſure a bleſſing upon his Family, let him labour to multiply the Family of Chriſt, and beleeve, that he which ſoweth liberally, ſhall reap abundantly; and he that ſpareth more than is need, from them that have more need, ſhall ſurely come to poverty: yea, let me ſay, that hee who forſakes the means of grace for Chriſt and his Churches ſake, ſhall meet with a better bargaine, namely, grace it ſelfe. It is a time now, when full flockes ſhould rather ſcatter to leane Churches than

than gather from other places to make themſelves fat; when able Chriſtians ſhould rather turn Jeſuites and Seminaries, than run into Covents and Frieries: had this been the courſe in the Primitive time, the Goſpel had been pinfolded up in a few Cities, and not ſpread as it is.

What more ungodly ſacriledge or man ſtealing can there be, then to purloyn from godly Miniſters the firſt born of their fervent prayers and faithfull preachings, the leven of their flocks, the incouragement of their ſoules, the Crowne of their labours, their Epiſtle to Heaven? I am glad to heare our *New-England* Elders generally deteſt it *diſpuenter*, and look at it as a killing *Cordolium*. If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they ſay) let them firſt plough the world, ſow it, and reap it with their own hands, and the Lord give them a liberall Harveſt. He is a very hard man that will reap where he hath not ſowed, and gather where he hath not ſtrowed, *Matth.* 24. 25.

He that ſaith, it is or was our caſe, doth not rightly underſtand himſelf or us, and he that takes his warrant out of *Joh.* 4. 37, 38. is little acquainted with Expoſitors. Wiſemen are amazed to hear that conſcientious Miniſters dare ſpoile many Congregations to make one for themſelves.

In matter of Reformation, this would be remembred, that in premonitory judgements, God will take good words, and ſincere intents; but in peremptory, nothing but reall performances.

Compoſition.

If Reformation were come thus neer, I ſhould hope Compoſition were not farre off: When hearts meet

in God, they will ſoon meet in Gods wayes, and upon Gods termes. But to avoid prolixity, which ſteales upon me; For Compoſition, I ſhall compoſe halfe a dozen diſtichs concerning theſe kind of Wars; wiſhing I could ſing aſleep theſe odious ſtirs, at leaſt on ſome part, with a dull Ode. He is no Cobler that cannot ſing, nor no good Cobler that can ſing well:

Si natura negat, facit indignatio verſum
Qualemcunque poteſt ——— Juvenal. } They are theſe.

1.

THey ſeldome loſe the field, but often win,
That end their warrs, before their warrs begin.

Victrix cauſa Deis placuit, ſed victa Catoni. Lucan.

2.

Their Cauſe is oft the worſt, that firſt begin,
And they may loſe the field, the field that win.

3.

In Civill warrs 'twixt Subjects and their King,
There is no conqueſt got, by conquering.

4.

Warre ill begun, the onely way to mend,
Is t'end the warre before the warre doe end.

5.

They that well end ill warrs, muſt have the skill,
To make an end by Rule, and not by Will.

6.

In ending warrs 'tween Subjects and their Kings,
Great things are ſav'd, by loſing little things.

Wee heare that *Majeſtas Imperii* hath challenged *Salus Populi* into the field; the one fighting for Prerogatives, the other defending Liberties: Were I a Conſtable bigge enough, I would ſet one of them by the heeles to keep both their hands quiet; I mean one-

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ly in a paire of Stocks, made of ſound Reaſon, handſomely fitted for the legges of their Underſtanding.

If *Salus Populi* began, ſurely it was not that *Salus Populi* I left in *England*: that *Salus Populi* was as mannerly a *Salus Populi* as need bee: if I be not much deceived, that *Salus Populi* ſuffer'd its noſe to be held to the Grindſtone, till it was almoſt ground to the griſles; and yet grew never the ſharper for ought I could diſcerne; What was, before the world was made; I leave to better Antiquaries then my ſelfe; but I think, ſince the world began, it was never ſtoryed that *Salus Populi* began with *Majeſtas Imperii*, unleſſe *Majeſtas Imperii* firſt unharbour'd it, and hunted it to a ſtand, and then it muſt either turne head and live, or turn taile and dye: but more have been ſtoryed on the other hand than *Majeſtas Imperii* is willing to heare: I doubt not but *Majeſtas Imperii* knows, that Common-wealths coſt as much the making as Crownes; and if they be well made, would yet outſell an ill-faſhioned Crown, in any Market overt, if they could be well vouched. But *Preces & Lachrymæ*, are the peoples weapons: ſo are Swords and Piſtols, when God and Parliaments bid them Arme. Prayers and Teares are good weapons for them that have nothing but knees and eyes; but moſt men are made with teeth and nailes; onely they muſt neither ſcratch for Liberties, nor brite Prerogatives, till they have wept and prayed as God would have them. If Subjects muſt fight for their Kings againſt other Kingdomes, when their Kings will; I know no reaſon, but they may fight againſt their Kings for their own Kingdomes, when Parliaments ſay they may and muſt: but Parliaments

muſt not ſay they muſt, till God ſayes they may.

I can never beleeve that *Majeſtas Imperii*, was ever ſo ſimple as to think, that if it extends it ſelf beyond its due Artique at one end, but *Salus Populi* muſt Antartique it as farre at the other end, or elſe the world will be Excentrick, and then it will whirle; and if it once fall a whirling, ten to one, it will whirle them off firſt, that ſit in higheſt Chaires on cuſhions fill'd with Peacocks feathers; and they are like to ſtand their ground faſteſt, that own not one foot of ground to ſtand upon. When Kings riſe higher than they ſhould, they exhale Subjects higher than they would: if the *Primum Mobile* ſhould aſcend one foot higher than it is, it would hurry all the nether wheeles, and the whole world on fire in 24 houres. No Prince exceeds in Soveraignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in ſome vitious Liberty, to abate their griefe; or ſome pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince.

The crazy world will crack, in all the middle joynts,
If all the ends it hath, have not their parapoynts.

Nor can I beleeve that Crownes trouble Kings heads, ſo much as Kings heads trouble Crownes: nor that they are flowers of Crowns that trouble Crowns, but rather ſome Nettles or Thiſtles miſtaken for flowers.

To ſpeak plainer Engliſh, I have wondred theſe thirty yeares what Kings aile: I have ſeen in my time, the beſt part of twenty Chriſtian Kings and Princes; Yet as Chriſtian as they were, ſome or other were ſtill ſcuffling for Prerogatives. It muſt be granted at all hands, that *Prærogativæ Regis* are neceſſary Supporters of State: and ſtately things to ſtately Kings: but

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if withall, they be *Derogativæ Regno*, they are but little things to wiſe Kings. Equity is as due to People, as Eminency to Princes; Liberty to Subjects, as Royalty to Kings: if they cannot walk together lovingly hand in hand, *pari paſſu*, they muſt cut girdles and part as good friends as they may: Nor muſt it be taken offenſively, that when Kings are haling up their top-gallants, Subjects lay hold on their ſlablines; the head and body muſt move alike: it is nothing meet for me to ſay with *Horace*,

Ut tu fortunam, ſic nos te Car'le feremus.

But I hope I may ſafely ſay,

The body beares the head, the head the Crown;
If both beare not alike, then one will down.

Diſtracted Nature, calls for diſtracting Remedies; perturbing policies for diſturbing cures: if one Extreame ſhould not conſtitute its Anti-Extreame, all things would ſoon be *in extremo*: if ambitious windes get into Rulers Crownes, rebellious vapours will into Subjects Caps, be they ſtopt never ſo cloſe: Yet the tongues of Times tell us of ten Preter-royall Uſurpations, to one contra civill Rebellion.

Civill Liberties and Proprieties admeaſured, to every man to his true *ſuum*, are the *prima pura principia*, *propria quarto modo*, the *ſine quibus* of humane States, without which, men are but women. Peoples proſtrations of theſe things when they may lawfully helpe it, are prophane proſtitutions; ignorant Idectiſmes, under naturall noddaries; and juſt it is that ſuch as underſell them, ſhould not re-inherit them in haſt, though they ſeek it carefully with teares. And ſuch uſurpations by Rulers, are the unnaturalizings of

nature, disfranchiſements of Freedome, the Neroni an nullifyings of Kingdomes: yea, I beleeve the Devill himſelfe would turn Round-head, rather then ſuffer theſe Columnes of Common-wealths to be ſlighted: as he is a creature, he fears decreation; as an Angel, dehominations; as a Prince, diſ-common-wealthings; as finite, theſe pen-infinite inſolencies, which are the moſt finite Infinites of miſery to men on this ſide the worlds diſſolution: therefore it is, that with Gods leave, he hath ſounded an Alarm to all the *ſuſque deques* pell-mels, one and alls, now harraſſing ſundry parts of Chriſtendome. It is enough for God to be Infinite, too much for man to be Indefinite. He that will flye too high a quarry for Abſoluteneſſe, ſhall ſtoope as much too low before he remounts his proper pitch: If *Jacob* will over-top his Brother out of Gods time and way, he will ſo hamſtring him, that he ſhall make legs whether he will or no, at his brothers approach: and ſuch as over-run all humane meaſure, ſhall ſeldom returne to humane mercy: There are ſins beſides the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſhall not be expiated by ſacrifice for temporall revenge: I meane when they are boyled up to a full conſiſtence of contumacy and impenitency. Let abſolute Demands or Commands be put into one ſcale, and indefinite refuſalls into the other: All the Goldſmiths in *Cheapeſide*, cannot tell which weighs heavieſt. Intolerable griefes to Subjects, breed the *Iliaca paſſio* in a body politick, which inforces that upwards which ſhould not. I ſpeak theſe things to excuſe, what I may, my Countrymen in the hearts of all that look upon their proceedings.

There is a quadrobulary ſaying, which paſſes current

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rent in the Weſtern World, That the Emperour is King of Kings, the *Spaniard*, King of Men, the *French*, King of Aſſes, the King of *England* King of Devils. By his leave that firſt brayed the ſpeech, they are pretty wiſe Devils and pretty honeſt; the worſe they doe, is to keep their Kings from devillizing, and themſelves from Affing: Were I a King (a ſimple ſuppoſall) I would not part with one good Engliſh Devil, for ſome two of the Emperours Kings, nor three of the *Spaniards* Men, nor foure *French* Aſſes; If I did, I ſhould think my ſelf an Aſſe for my labour. I know nothing that *Engliſhmen* want, but true Grace, and honeſt pride; let them be well furniſht with thoſe two, I feare they would make more Aſſes, then *Spain* can make men, or the Emperour Kings. You will ſay I am now beyond my latchet; but you would not ſay ſo, if you knew how high my latchet will ſtretch; when I heare a lye with a latchet, that reaches up to his throat that firſt forged it.

He is a good King that undoeth not his Subjects by any one of his unlimited Prerogatives: and they are a good People, that undoe not their Prince, by any one of their unbounded Liberties, be they the very leaſt. I am ſure either may, and I am ſure neither would be truſted, how good ſoever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-riſen Kings, have been the next evills to the world, unto fallen Angels; and that over-franchiſed people, are devills with ſmooth ſnaffles in their mouthes. A King that lives by Law, lives by love; and he that lives above Law, ſhall live under hatred doe what he can. Slavery and knavery goe as ſeldome aſunder, as Tyranny and Cruelty.

I have a long while thought it very possible, in a time of Peace, and in some Kings Reigne, for divers Statesmen, to cut an exquisite thred between Kings Prerogatives, and Subjects Liberties of all sorts, so as *Cæsar* might have his due, and People their share, without such sharpe disputes. Good Casuists would case it, and case it, part it, and part it; now it, and then it, punctually. *Aquinas*, *Suarez*, or *Valentia*, would have done it long ere this, had they not beene Popish, I might have said knavish; for if they be so any where, it is in their Tractates of Priviledges. Our Common Law doth well, but it must doe better before things do as they should. There are some *Maximes* in Law, that would be taught to speake a little more mannerly, or else well *Anti-maxim'd*: wee say, the King can doe a Subject no wrong; why may wee not say, the Parliament can do the King no wrong? We say, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi* in taking wrong; why may we not say, *Nullum tempus succurrit Regi* in doing wrong? which I doubt will prove a better Canon if well examined.

Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People, honesty to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keepe both safe. Morall Laws, Royall Prerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wisdome cannot reach, Mans experience must mend: And these Essentialls, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few Mens discretion, but lineally sanctioned by Supreme Councels. In *pro-re-nascent* occurrences, which cannot be foreseen; Diets, Parliaments,

aments, Senates, or accountable Commiſſions, muſt have power to conſult and execute againſt interfilient dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know ſo much before hand, by ſome ſafe woven *manifeſto*, that groſſe Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their preſumptions with pretence of ignorance. I know no difference in theſe Eſſentialls, between Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, or Democracies; the rule will be found, par-rationall ſay Schoolemen and Pretorians what they will. And in all, the beſt ſtandard to meaſure Prerogatives, is the Plough ſtaffe, to meaſure Liberties, the Scepter: if the tearms were a little altered into Loyall Prerogatives and Royall Liberties, then we ſhould be ſure to have Royall Kings and Loyall Subjects.

Subjects their King, the King his Subjects greets,
Whilome the Scepter and the Plough-ſtaffe meets.

But Progenitors have had them for four and twenty predeceſſions: that would be ſpoken in the Norman tongue or Cimbrian, not in the Engliſh or Scottiſh: When a Conquerour turnes Chriſtian, Chriſtianity turns Conquerour: if they had had them time out of minde of man, before *Adam* was made, it is not a pin to the point in *foro rectæ rationis*: Juſtice and Equity were before time, and will be after it: Time hath neither Politicks nor Ethicks, good nor evill in it; it is an empty thing, as empty as a *New-Engliſh* purſe, and emptier it cannot bee: a man may break his neck in time, and in a leſſe time then he can heale it.

But here is the deadly pang, it muſt now be taken by force and dint of ſword: I confeſſe it is a deadly

pang to a Spirit made all of flesh, but not to a mortified heart: it is good to let God have his will as hee pleaſe, when we have not reaſon to let him have it as we ſhould; remembring, that hitherto he hath taken order that ill Prerogatives gotten by the Sword, ſhould in time be fetcht home by the Dagger, if nothing elſe will doe it: Yet I truſt there is both day and means to intervent that bargaine. But if they ſhould; if God will make both King and Kingdome the better by it, what ſhould either loſe? I am ſure there is no great cauſe for either to make great brags.

Pax quo carior, eo charior.
A peace well made, is likelieſt then to hold,
When 'tis both dearly bought and dearly ſold.

I confeſſe, he that parts with ſuch pearles to be paid in old iron, had need to be pityed more by his faithfull friends, than he is like to be by his falſe flatterers. My heart is ſurcharged, I can no longer forbear.

MY *Deareſt Lord*, and my more than *deareſt King*; I moſt humbly beſeech you upon mine aged knees, that you would pleaſe to arme your minde with patience of proofe, and to intrench your ſelfe as deepe as you can, in your wonted Royall meekneſſe; for I am reſolved to diſplay my unfurled ſoule in your very face, and to ſtorme you with volyes of Love and Loyalty. You owe the meaneſt true Subject you have, a cloſe account of theſe open Warres; they are no *Arcana imperii*. Then give mee leave to inquire of your Majeſty, what you make in fields of blood, when you ſhould be amidſt your Parliament of peace: What you doe ſculking in the ſuburbs of Hell, when your

your Royall Pallaces ſtand deſolate, through your abſence? What moves you to take up Armes againſt your faithfull Subjects, when your Armes ſhould bee embracing your mournfull Queen? What incenſes your heart to make ſo many Widowes and Orphans, and among the reſt your owne? Doth it become you, the King of the ſtatelieſt Iſland the world hath, to forſake your Throne, and take up the Manufacture of cutting your Subjects throats, for no other ſinne, but for Deifying you ſo over-much, that you cannot bee quiet in your Spirit, till they have pluckt you downe as over-low? Doe your three Kingdomes ſo trouble you, that they muſt all three be ſet on fire at once, that when you have done, you may probably runne away by their light into utter darkneſſe? Doe your three Crownes ſit ſo heavy on your head, that you will break the backs of the three bodies that ſet them on, and helpt you beare them ſo honourably? Have your three Lamb-like flocks ſo moleſted you, that you muſt deliver them up to the ravening teeth of evening Wolves? Are you ſo angry with thoſe that never gave you juſt cauſe to be angry, but by their too much feare to anger you at all, when you gave them cauſe enough? Are you ſo weary of Peace, that you will never bee weary of Warre? Are you ſo willing to warre at home, who were ſo unwilling to warre abroad, where and when you ſhould? Are you ſo weary of being a good King, that you will leave your ſelfe never a good Subject? Have you peace of Conſcience, in inforcing many of your Subjects to fight for you againſt their Conſcience? Are you provided with Anſwers at the great Tribunall, for the deſtructi-

on of ſo many thouſands, whereof every man was as good a man as your Self, *qua* man?

Is it not a moſt unworthy part for you to bee running away from your Subjects in a day of battell, upon whoſe Pikes you may come ſafe with your naked breaſt and welcome? Is it honourable for you to bee flying on horſes, from thoſe that would eſteeme it their greateſt honour, to beare you on their humble ſhoulders to your Chaire of Eſtate, and ſet you down upon a Cuſhion ſtuffed with their hearts? Is it your prudence to be inraged with your beſt friends, for adventuring their lives to reſcue you from your worſt enemies? Were I a King, pardon the ſuppoſall, I would hang that Subject by the head, that would not take me by the heels, and dragge mee to my Court, when he ſees me ſhifting for life in the ruined Countrey, if nothing elſe would doe it; And I would honour their very heels, that would take me by the very head, and teach me, by all juſt means, to King it better, when they ſaw me un-Kinging my ſelfe, and Kingdome: Doe you not know Sir, that, as when your people are ſicke of the Kings-evill, God hath given you a gift to heale them? ſo when your ſelfe are ſicke of it, God hath given the Parliament a gift to heale you: Hath your Subjects love been ſo great to you, that you will ſpend it all, and leave your children little or none? Are you ſo exaſperated againſt wiſe *Scotland*, that you will make *England* your foole or foot-ſtoole? Is your fathers ſonne growne more Orthodox, then his moſt Orthodox father, when hee told his Sonne, that a King was for a kingdome, and not a kingdome for a King? parallell to that of the Apoſtle;

Apoſtle; the husband is but by the wife, but the wife of the husband.

Is *Majeſtas Imperii* growne ſo kickiſh, that it cannot ſtand quiet with *Salus Populi*, unleſſe it be fettered? Are you well adviſed, in trampling your Subjects ſo under your feet, that they can finde no place to be ſafe in, but over your head: Are you ſo inexorably offended with your Parliament, for ſuffering you to returne as you did, when you came into their houſe as you did, that you will be avenged on all whom they repreſent? Will you follow your very worſt Councell ſo farre, as to provoke your very beſt, to take better counſell than ever they did? If your Majeſty be not Popiſh, as you profeſſe, and I am very willing to beleeve, why doe you put the Parliament to reſume the ſacrament of the Altar in ſaying, the *King* and Parliament, the *King* and Parliament? breaking your ſimple Subjects braines to underſtand ſuch myſticall Parlee-ment? I queſtion much, whether they were not better ſpeake plainer Engliſh, than ſuch Latine as the Angels can hardly conſtrue, and God happily loves not to perſe; I can as well admit an ubiquitary *King* as another, if a *King* be abroad in any good affaire; but if a *King* be at home, and will circumſcribe himſelfe at *Oxford*, and proſcribe or diſcribe his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; if that Parliament will preſcribe what they ought, without ſuch paradoxing, I ſhould thinke God would ſubſcribe a *Le Dieu le veult*.

Is your *Adviſera* ſuch a *Suavamen* to you, that hath been ſuch a *Gravamen* to Religion and Peace? Shall the chiefe bearing wombe of your kingdome, be

ever ſo conſtituted, that it cannot be delivered of its owne deliverance, in what pangs ſoever it be, without the will of one man-midwife, and ſuch a man as will come and not come, but as he liſt: nor bring a Parliament to bed of a well-begotten Liberty without an entire Subſtidy? Doe not your Majeſty being a Schollar, know that it was a truth long before it was ſpoken, that *Mundus eſt unus aut nullus*, that there is *Principum purum unum*, which unites the world and all that is in it; where that is broken, things fall aſunder, that whatſoever is duable or triable, is fryable.

Is the *Militia* of your Kingdome, ſuch an orient flower of your Crowne, which all good Herbaliſts judge but a meere nettle, while it is in any one mans hand living? May not you as well challenge the abſolute diſpoſall of all the wealth of the Kingdome as of all the ſtrength of your Kingdome? Can you put any difference? unleſſe it bee this, that mens hearts and bones are within their skins, more proper and intrinſecall, their lands and cattell more externall: dare you not *concredit* the *Militia*, with thoſe to whom you may betruſt your heart, better then your owne breaſt? Will they ever harme you with the *Militia*, that have no manner of *Malitia* againſt you, but for miſ-imploying the *Militia* againſt them by the *malitia* of your ill Counſellours? What good will the *Militia* doe you when you have waſted the Realm of all the beſt *Milites* it hath? May not your Majeſty ſee through a paire of Spectacles, glazed with inch-board; that while you have your *Adviſera* in one hand, and the *Militia* in the other, you have the necks

of

of your Subjects under your feet, but not your heart in your owne hand? doe you not know that *malum eſt, poſſe malum*?

Hath Epiſcopacy beene ſuch a religious Jewell in your State, that you will ſell all or moſt of your Coronets, Caps of honour, and blue Garters, for ſix and twenty cloth Caps? and your Barons Cloaks, for ſo many Rockets, whereof uſually twenty have had ſcarce good manners enough to keepe the other ſix ſweet? Is no Biſhop no King, ſuch an oraculous Truth, that you will pawne your Crowne and life upon it? if you will, God may make it true indeed on your part: Had you rather part with all, then loſe a few ſuperfluous tumors, to pare off your monſtrouſneſſe? Will you be ſo covetous, as to get more then you ought, by loſing more then you need? Have you not driven good Subjects enough abroad, but you will alſo ſlaughter them that ſtay at home? Will you take ſuch an ill courſe, that no prayers can faſten any good upon you? Is there not ſome worſe root than all theſe growing in your Spirit, bringing forth all this bitter fruit? againſt which you ſhould take up Arms, rather than againſt your harmeleſſe Subjects? Doe you not foreſee, into what implorable head-tearings and heart-ſearchings you will be ingulfed, when the Parliament ſhall give you a mate, though but a Stale?

Methinks it ſhould breake your heart, to ſee ſuch a one as I, preſume ſo much upon your Clemency & too much upon your Majeſty, which your ſelfe have ſo eclipſed by the interpoſall of your Self between your Selfe and your Selfe, that it hath not ray's enough

left

left, to dazle downe the height of my affections to the awe of my Judgement.

Tref-Royall Sir, I once againe beſeech you, with teares dropping from my hoary head, to cover your Selfe as cloſe as you may, with the beſt ſhield of goodneſſe you have: I have ſomewhat more to ſay, which may happily trouble not your Selfe, but your followers, more than what is already ſaid. There lived in your Realme and Reigne two whom I may well tearme Prophets, both now in a better *King*-dome; whereof one foretold two things concerning your Majeſty, of theſe very proceedings, long before they began; which being done and paſt ſhall bee buried in ſilence: the other made this prediction about the ſame time.

King Charles *will joyne himſelfe to bitter Griefe,*
Then joyne to God, and prove a Godly Chiefe.

His words were in proſe theſe, *King Charles* will come into fetters, meaning ſtrong afflictions, and then prove as good a *King*, as ſuch a good *King* of *Iſrael*, whom he then named, but I need not: he was as inwardly acquainted with the minde of God, as fervent and frequent a Beadſman for your welfare, and had as religious Opticks of State, as any man I know: foure other Predictions he made, full as improbable as this, whereof three are punctually performed. A good Chriſtian being ſometime in conflicts of Conſcience, hurried with long tentations, uſed this ſpeech to my ſelfe, I am now reſolved to be quiet, for I plainly ſee, God will ſave me whether I will or no: If your Majeſty would be pleaſed to thinke ſo in your heart, and ſay ſo with your mouth, all the good Subjects you have,

have, would ſay, *Amen*, till the heavens rang, and I hope you have few ſo bad, but would ſay, *So be it*.

Much lamented Sir, if you will pleaſe to retire your Selfe to your Cloſet, whither you may moſt ſafely come, and make your peace with God, for the vaſt heritage of ſinne your Intombed father left upon your ſcore, the dreadfull Imprecation he poured upon the heads of his tender poſterity in *Summerſets* and *Overburyes* Caſe, publiſhed in Starchamber by his Royall command; your own ſinfull mariage, the ſophiſtication of Religion and Policie in your time, the luxury of your Court and Country, your connivence with the Iriſh butcheries, your forgetfull breaches upon the Parliament, your compliance with Popiſh Doegs, with what elſe your Conſcience ſhall ſuggeſt: and give us, your guilty Subjects example to doe the like, who have held pace and proportion with you in our evill wayes: we will helpe you by Gods aſſiſtance, to poure out rivers of teares, to waſh away the ſtreams of blood, which have beene ſhed for theſe heavy accounts; wee will alſo helpe you, God helping us, to beleeve, that there is hope in *Iſrael* for theſe things: and Balme enough in his *Gilead* to heale all the broken bones of your three kingdomes, and to redouble your honour and our peace: His Arme is infinite; to an infinite power all things are equally faiſible, to an infinite mercy all ſinnes equally pardonable. The Lord worke theſe things in us and for us, for his compaſſions ſake in Jeſus Chriſt.

Sir, you may now pleaſe to diſcover your Selfe where you pleaſe; I truſt I have not indangered you: I preſume your Eare-guard will keep farre enough

from you, what ever I have ſaid: be it ſo, I have diſcharged my duty, let them look to theirs. If my tongue ſhould reach your eares, which I little hope for; let it be once ſaid; the great King of great *Britaine*, tooke adviſe of a ſimple Cobler, yet ſuch a Cobler, as will not exchange either his blood or his pride, with any Shoe-maker or Tanner in your Realme, nor with any of your late Biſhops which have flattered you thus in peeces: I would not ſpeake thus in the ears of the world, through the mouth of the Preſſe for all the plunder your plunderers, have pillaged; were it not ſomewhat to abate your Royall indignation toward a loyall Subject; a Subject whoſe heart hath been long carbonado'd, *des veniam verbo*, in flames of affection towards you. Your Majeſty knowes or may know, time was, when I did, or would have done you a better peece of ſervice, then all your Troopes and Regiments are now doing. Should I hear any Gentleman that followes you, of my yeares, ſay hee loves you better than I, if it were lawfull, I would ſweare by my Sword, he ſaid more than his ſword would make good.

Gracious Sir, Vouchſafe to pardon me my no other ſin, but my long Idolatry towards you, and I will pardon you your Treaſon againſt me, even me, by committing Treaſon againſt your Selfe my Lord and King; and your murther, in murthering me, even me, by murthering my deare fellow-Subjects, bone of my bone, and fleſh of my fleſh, and of yours alſo. If you will not pardon me, I will pardon my ſelfe, dwell in my own clothes as long as I can, and make as good a ſhift for my proportion, as he that hath a lighter

paire

paire of heeles: And when you have done what you pleaſe and what you can, I am reſolved to be

As loyall a Subject to your Majeſty when I have never a head on my ſhoulders, as you a Royall King to me, when you have your three Crownes on your head,

Theod: de la Guard.

I Would my skill would ſerve me alſo, as well as my heart, to tranſlate Prince *Rupert*, for his Queen-mothers ſake, *Eliza* a ſecond. Miſmeane me not. I have had him in mine armes when he was younger, I wiſh I had him there now: if I miſtake not, he promiſed then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wiſe hearted Palatine, a thankfull man to the Engliſh; to forgive all his ſinnes, and at length to ſave his ſoule, notwithſtanding all his God-damne mee's: yet I may doe him wrong; I am not certaine hee uſeth that oath; I wiſh no man elſe would; I dare ſay the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thouſand Engliſh almoſt theſe twelve years, am held a very ſociable man; yet I may conſiderately ſay, I never heard but one Oath ſworne, nor never ſaw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adultereſſes, in all this time, that I can call to minde: If theſe ſinnes bee amongſt us privily, the Lord heale us, I would not bee underſtood of our innocency; there is no

cauſe I ſhould, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better, But to follow my buſineſſe.

Proſecutions of Warres between a King and his Parliament, are the direfull dilacerations of the world, the cruell Caraſtrophes of States, dreadfull to ſpeak of; they are *nefanda & nefagenda*: I know no grounds can be given of them but two: Either upon Reaſon founded upon ſome ſurmiſall of Treaſon, which my reaſon cannot reach: I could never conceive why a rationall King ſhould commit Treaſon againſt a reaſonable Parliament; or how a faithfull Parliament againſt their lawfull King: the moſt I can imagine, is a miſpriſion of Treaſon, upon a miſpriſion of Reaſon. He that knows not the ſpirit of his King, is an Atheiſt. Our King is not *Charles le ſimple* ſometime of *France*: he underſtands not our King that underſtands him not to bee underſtanding. The Parliament is ſuppoſed Omniſcient, becauſe under God they are Omnipotent: if a Parliament have not as much knowledge and all other Vertues, as all the kingdome beſide, they are no good Abridgement of the Common-wealth. I beleeve Remonſtrances have demonſtrated enough concerning this point of Reaſon, to give ſatisfaction to ſuch as ſatisfaction will ſatisfie.

Or upon Will.

The Will of a King is very numinous; it hath a kinde of vaſt univerſality in it, it is many times greater then the will of his whole kingdome, ſtiffened with ill Counſell and ill Preſidents: if it be not a foot and halfe leſſer than the Will of his Councell, and three foot leſſer than the Will of his Parliament, it is too big. I think it were well for a King if hee had no

will

will at all, but were all Reaſon. What if he committed his moral will to Divines, that were no Biſhops? his Political, to his Parliament, and a Councell choſen by Parliament? that if ever it miſcarry, they may blame themſelves moſt, and him leaſt. I cannot know any *King* that hath ſuch advantage as ours; his three kingdomes lye ſo diſtinct and entire, that if he pleaſe, he might keep them like three gardens without a weed, if he would let God keep his will, without wilfulneſſe and raſhneſſe.

I have obſerved men to have two kindes of Wills, a Free-hold will, ſuch as men hold in *Capite* of themſelves; or a Copy-hold will, held at the will of other Lords or Ladies. I have read almoſt all the Common Law of *England*, and ſome Statutes, yet I never read, that the Parliament held their will in ſuch a *Capite*: their Tenure is *Knight ſervice*, and good *Knight ſervice* too, or elſe they are to blame. And I am ſure, a King cannot hold by Copy, at the will of other Lords; the Law calls that *baſe tenure*, inconſiſtent with Royalty; much more baſe is it, to hold at the will of Ladies: Apron-ſtring *tenure* is very weak, tyed but of a ſlipping knot, which a childe may undoe, much more a *King*. It ſtands not with our Queens honour to weare an Apron, much leſſe her Husband, in the ſtrings; that were to inſnare both him and her ſelf in many unſafeties. I never heard our *King* was Effeminate: to be a little Uxorious perſonally, is a vertuous vice in Oeconomicks; but Royally, a vitious vertue in Politicks. To ſpeak Engliſh, Books and Tongues tell us, the Error of theſe Wars on our Kings part, proceeds from ill Counſellours.

Ill Counſellours, are very ill Gamſters; if they ſee their own ſtake a looſing, they will play away King, Queen, Biſhops, Knights, Rooks, Pawnes, and all, before they will turn up the board, they that play for luſts, will play away themſelves, and not leave themſelves ſo much as a heart to repent: and then there is no Market left but Hell; if the caſe be thus, it is to no end to look for any end, till one ſide make an end of the other.

They that at ſtake their Crownes and Honours ſet,
Play laſting games, if Luſt or Guilt doe bet.

Ceſſation.

If God would vouchſafe to give his Majeſties Religion and Reaſon, power to fling his Will head over the Wall, in matter of Compoſition, and his Subjects ſtrength to throw their luſts after it; Armes would be ſoon laid down, and Peace ſoon taken up. They that are not at peace with God, are not at peace with themſelves, whatever they think; and they that are not at peace with themſelves, cannot be at peace with others, if occaſion provokes, be their nature never ſo good.

So farre as I can conjecture, the chiefe impediment to a generall and mutuall Ceſſation of Armes, is, a deſpaire of mutuall and generall forgiveneſſe. If ever *England* had need of a generall Jubile in Heaven and Earth, it is now. Our King and Parliament have been at great ſtrife, who ſhould obtaine moſt Juſtice: if they would now ſtrive, who ſhould ſhew moſt Mercy, it would heale well throughout the world. Here alſo my ſpeech muſt be twofold and blind fold. It is now nine Moneths and more ſince the laſt credible News was acted: It is poſſible by this, the Parliament

ment may be at the Kings mercy: Did I ſay a Kings mercy, what can I ſay more? no man on earth, can ſhew more mercy then a King, nor ſhall need more, when he comes to give an Account of his Kingdome: Nor did ever any Parliament merit more mercy than this, for they never ſinned, that I know, I mean againſt the Common and Statute Law of *England*: it is pity they who have given ſo many generall pardons, ſhould want one now.

If our King hath loſt his way, and thereby learned to look to his path better hereafter, and taught many Succeſſors to King it right for many Ages; Methinks it ſhould impetrate a Royall Redintegration, upon a Royall acknowledgement and ingagement. But how ſhould an erring King truſt a provoked Parliament? Surely he may truſt God ſafe enough; who will never truſt that State more with a good King, that will doe ill to a King that is turned ſo good. Me thinks thoſe paſſages of Scripture, *Eſa.*43.24,25. *chap.* 57.17,18. The ſtrange illation, *Hoſ.*2.13,14. ſhould melt a heart of ſteele into floods of mercy.

For others, were my head, one of the heads which firſt gave the King Counſell to take up theſe Armes, or to perſiſt in them, when at any time he would have disbanded, I would give that head to the Kingdome, whether they would or no; if they would not cut it off, I would cut it off my ſelfe, and tender it at the Parliament doore, upon condition that all other heads might ſtand, which ſtand upon penitent hearts, and will doe better on than off; then I would carry it to *London-Bridge*, and charge my tongue to teach all tongues, to pronounce Parliament right hereafter.

When

When a kingdome is broken juſt in the neck joynt, in my poore policy, ropes and hatchets are not the kindlieſt inſtruments to ſet it: Next to the ſpilling of the blood of Chriſt for ſin, the ſparing of the blood of ſinners, where it may be as well ſpared as ſpilt, is the beſt way of expiation. It is no rare thing for Subjects to follow a leading King; if he will take his truncheon in his hand, it is to be expected many will put their ſwords in their Belts. Sins that riſe out of miſtake of judgement, are not ſo ſinfull as thoſe of malice ordinarily: and when multitudes ſin, multitudes of mercy are the beſt Anodines.

-- gratia gratis data, gratiſsima.

Grace will diſſolve, but rigour hardens guilt:
Break not with Steely blows, what oyle ſhould melt.
In Breaches integrant, 'tween Principall's of States,
Due Juſtice may ſuppreſſe, but Love redintegrates.

Whoſoever be pardoned, I pray let not *Britanicus* ſcape, I mean a pardon. I take him to be a very well deſerving Gentleman; Out of my intire reſpect to him, I ſhall preſume to give him half a dozen ſtitches of adviſe:

I intreat him to conſider that our King is not onely a man, but a King in affliction, Kings afflictions are beyond Subjects apprehenſions; a Crown may happily ake as much as a whole Common-wealth.

I deſire him alſo to conceale himſelf as deeply as he can, if he cannot get a ſpeciall pardon, to weare a Latitat, about his neck, or let him lie cloſe under the Philoſophers ſtone, and I'le warrant him for ever being found. If

If he be diſcovered, I counſell him to get his head ſet on faſter than our *New-England* Taylors uſe to ſet on Buttons; Kings, and Kings Childrens memories are as keen as their Subjects wits.

If he fears any ſuch thing, that he would come over to us, to helpe recruite our bewildred brains: we will promiſe to maintain him ſo long as he lives, if he will promiſe to live no longer then we maintain him.

If he ſhould bee diſcovered and his head chance to be cut off againſt his will, I earneſtly beſeech him to bequeathe his wits to me and mine in Fee-ſimple, for we want them, and cannot live by our hands in this Country.

Laſtly, I intreat him to keep his purſe, I give him my counſell *gratis*, confeſſing him to be more then my match, and that I am very loath to fall into his hands.

Proſecution.

If Reformation, Compoſition, Ceſſation, can finde no admittance, there muſt and will be Proſecution: to which I would alſo ſpeake briefly and indifferently ſtill to both ſides; and firſt to that, which I had rather call Royaliſts then malignants; who if I miſtake not, fight againſt the Truth.

Fooliſh Cowardly man (I pray patience, for I ſpeak nothing but the pulſe of my owne heart) dreads and hates, nothing in Heaven or Earth, ſo much as Truth: it is not God, nor Law, nor ſinne, nor death, nor hell, that he feares, but only becauſe hee feares there is Truth in them: Could he de-truth them all, he would defie them all: Let Perdition it ſelfe come upon him with deadly threats, fiery ſwords, diſplay-

ed vengeance, he cares not: Let Salvation come cap in hand, with naked Reaſon, harmeleſſe Religion, lawny embracements, he will rather flye or dye, than entertaine it: come Truth in what ſhape it will, hee will reject it: and when hee can beat it off with moſt ſteely proweſſe, he thinkes himſelfe the braveſt man; when in truth it is nothing but exſanguine feeble exility of Spirit. Thy heart, ſaith the Prophet *Ezek.*16. 30. is weake, like the heart of an imperious whoriſh woman: a man would thinke, the heart of an imperious whore, were the very pummell of *Scanderbergs* ſword; alas, ſhee is hen-hearted, ſhee dares not looke Truth in the face; if ſhee dared, ſhe would neither bee whoriſh, nor imperious, nor weake. He ſhews more true fortitude, that prayes quarter of the leaſt Truth, at a miles diſtance, than hee that breakes through and hewes downe the moſt Theban Phalaux that ever field bore. *Paul* expreſt more true valour, in ſaying, I can doe nothing againſt the Truth, than *Goliah*, in defying the whole hoſte of *Iſrael*.

Couragious Gentlemen, Yee that will ſtab him that gives you the lye; take heed yee ſpend not your bloods, limbs and ſoules, in fighting for ſome untruth: and yee that will fling out the gantlet to him that calls you Coward, diſhonour not your ſelves with ſuch Cowardiſe, as to fight againſt Truth, meerly for feare of it. A thouſand pities it is, ſuch gallant Spirits ſhould ſpend their lives, honours, heritages, and ſweet relations in any Warres, where, for ought many of them know, ſome falſe miſtake commands in Chiefe.

Honoured Country-men, bee intreated to love Truth:

Truth: if it loves not you againe, and repaires not all your loſſes, then inſtall ſome Untruth in its room for your Generall. If you will needs warre, be perſwaded to contend lawfully, wiſely and ſtedfaſtly, againſt all errours in Divinity and Policy: they are the curſed Counter-mures, dropt Portculliſes, ſcowring Angi-ports, ſulphurious Granado's, laden murtherers, peeviſh Galthropes, and raſcall deſparadoes, which the Prince of lyes imployes with all his skill and malice, to maintaine the walls and gates of his kingdome, when Truth would enter in with grace and peace to ſave forlorne ſinners, and diſtreſſed commonwealths; witneſſe the preſent deplorable eſtate of ſundry States in Europe.

Give mee leave to ſpeake a word more: it is but this, Yee will finde it a farre eaſier field, to wage warre againſt all the Armies that ever were or will be on Earth, and all the Angels of Heaven, than to take up Armes againſt any truth of God: It hath more Counſell and ſtrength than all the world beſides; and will certainly either gaine or ruine, convert or ſubvert every man that oppoſes it. I hope ingenuous men will rather take advice, then offence at what I have ſaid: I had rather pleaſe ten, than grieve one intelligent man.

If this ſide be reſolute, I turne me to the other.

Goe on brave Engliſhmen, in the name of God, go on proſperouſly, becauſe of Truth and Righteouſnes: Yee that have the Cauſe of Religion, the life of your Kingdome and of all the good that is in it in your hands: Goe on undauntedly: As you are Called and Choſen, ſo be faithfull: Yee fight the battells of the

Lord, bee neither desidious nor perfidious: You serve the King of Kings, who stiles you his heavenly Regiments: Consider well, what impregnable fighting it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your Generall, his Angels your Colonels, the Stars your fellow-souldiers, his Saints your Oratours, his Promises your victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull sounds; your Ensignes Christs Banners; where your weapons and armour are spirituall, therefore irresistable, therefore impierceable; where Sun and wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them, where hell it selfe cannot hurt you, where your swords are furbushed and sharpened by him that made their metall, where your wounds are bound up with the oyle of a good Cause, where your blood runs into the veynes of Christ, where sudden death is present martyrdome and life; your funerals resurrections· your honour, glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetuall pensions· your names listed among *Davids* Worthies; where your greatest losses are greatest gaines; and where you leave the troubles of war, to lye down in downy beds of eternall rest.

What good will it doe you, deare Countrymen, to live without lives, to enjoy *England* without the God of *England*, your Kingdome without a Parliament, your Parliament without power, your Liberties without stability, your Lawes without Justice, your honours without vertue, your beings without tranquility, your wives without honesty, your children without morality, your servants without civility, your lands without propriety, your goods without immunity, the Gospel

Goſpel without ſalvation, your Churches without Miniſtery, your Miniſters without piety, and all you have or can have, with more teares and bitterneſſe of heart, than all you have and ſhall have will ſweeten or wipe away?

Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on reſolvedly, till your hands cleave to your ſwords, your ſwords to your enemies hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to the everlaſting praiſe of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your ſelves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and ſervice ſake.

And Wee your Brethren, though we neceſſarily abide beyond *Jordan*, and remaine on the American Sea-coaſts, will ſend up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of power and goodneſſe, would incourage your hearts, cover you heads, ſtrengthen your arms, pardon your ſinnes, ſave your ſoules, and bleſſe your families, in the day of Battell. Wee will alſo pray, that the ſame Lord of Hoſts, would diſcover the Counſels, defeat the Enterprizes, deride the hopes, diſdaine the inſolencies, and wound the hairy ſcalpes of your obſtinate Enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly miſled. Wee will likewiſe helpe you beleeve that God will be ſeen on the Mount, that it is all one with him to ſave by many or few, and that he doth but humble and try you for the preſent, that he may doe you good at the latter end. All which hee bring to paſſe who is able to doe exceeding abundantly, above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy ſake in Jeſus Chriſt.

Amen. Amen.

A Word of IRELAND:

Not of the Nation univerſally, nor of any man in it, that hath ſo much as one haire of Chriſtianity or Humanity growing on his head or beard, but onely of the truculent Cut-throats, and ſuch as ſhall take up Armes in their Defence.

THeſe *Iriſh* anciently called *Antropophagi*, man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them, That when the Devill ſhewed our Saviour all the kingdomes of the Earth and their glory, that he would not ſhew him *Ireland*, but reſerved it for himſelfe: it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever ſince for his own peculiar; the old Fox foreſaw it would eclipſe the glory of all the reſt: he thought it wiſdome to keep the land for a Boggards for his uncleane ſpirits imployed in this Hemiſphere, and the people, to doe his Son and Heire, I mean the Pope, that ſervice for which *Lewis* the eleventh kept his Barber *Oliver*, which makes them ſo blood-thirſty. They are the very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Chriſtendom, the Bots that crawle on the Beaſts taile, I wonder *Rome* it ſelf is not aſhamed of them.

I begge upon my, hands and knees, that the Expedition againſt them may be undertaken while the hearts

hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to ſay briefly: Happy is he that ſhall reward them as they have ſerved us, and Curſed be he that ſhall do that work of the Lord negligently, Curſed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood: yea, Curſed be he that maketh not his Sword ſtark-drunk with *Iriſh* blood, that doth not recompence them double for their helliſh treachery to the *Engliſh*, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their Country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Aſtoniſhment to Nations: Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be ſpared, that pities or ſpares them, and let him be accurſed, that curſeth not them bitterly.

Let me drive in half a dozen plaine honeſt Country Hobnailes, ſuch as the Martyrs were wont to weare; to make my work hold the ſurer; and I have done.

1. *THere, lives cannot be good,*
There, Faith cannot be ſure,
Where Truth cannot be quiet,
Nor Ordinances pure.

2. *No King can King it right,*
Nor rightly ſway his Rod;
Who truely loves not Chriſt,
And truely fears not God.

3. *He*

3. *He cannot rule a Land,*
As Lands ſhould ruled been,
That lets himſelf be rul'd
By a ruling Romane Queen.

4. *No earthly man can be*
True Subject to this State;
Who makes the Pope his Chriſt,
An Heretique his Mate.

5. *There Peace will goe to War,*
And Silence make a noiſe:
Where upper things will not
With nether equipoyſe.

6. *The upper world ſhall Rule,*
While Stars will run their race:
The nether world obey,
While People keep their place.

The Clench.

IF any of theſe come out
So long's the world doe laſt:
Then credit not a word
Of what is ſaid and paſt.

ERRATA

ERRATA AT NON CORRIGENDA.

NOW I come to rubbe over my work, I finde five or ſix things like faults, which would be mended or commended, I know not well which.

1. For *Levity*, read, *Lepidity*, ——and that a very little, and that very neceſſary, if not unavoydable.

Miſce ſtultitiam Conſiliis brevem
— Dulce eſt deſipere in loco. Horat.

To ſpeak to light heads with heavy words, were to break their necks: to cloathe Summer matter, with Winter Rugge, would make the Reader ſweat. It is muſick to me, to hear every Dity ſpeak its ſpirit in its apt tune: every breaſt, to ſing its proper part, and every creature, to expreſſe it ſelf in its naturall note: ſhould I heare a Mouſe roare like a Beare, a Cat lowgh like an Oxe, or a Horſe whiſtle like a Red-breaſt, it wonld ſcare — mee.

The world's a well ſtrung fidle, mans tongue the quill,
That fills the world with fumble for want of skill,
When things and words in tune and tone doe meet,
The univerſall ſong goes ſmooth and ſweet.

2. For *audacity*, read, *veracity*, or *Verum Gallice*

non libenter audis. Marr. Flattery never doth well, but when it is whiſpered through a paire of liſping teeth; Truth beſt, when it is ſpoken out, through a paire of open lips. Ye make ſuch a noyſe there, with Drums and Trumpets, that if I ſhould not ſpeak loud, ye could not hear me: Ye talke one to another, with whole Culvering and Canon; give us leave to talk Squibs and Piſtoletto's charged with nothing but powder of Love and ſhot of Reaſon: if you will cut ſuch deep gaſhes in one anothers fleſh, we muſt ſow them up with deep ſtitches, elſe ye may bleed to death: ye were better let us, your tender Countrymen doe it, than forraine Surgeons, who will handle you more cruelly, and take no other pay, but your Lives and Lands.

——— ——— *Aſpice vultus,*
Ecce meos, utinamque oculos in pectore poſſes
Inſerere: & patrias intus deprendere Curas. Ovid.
(Phœb.

He that to tall men ſpeakes, muſt lift up's head,
And when h'hath done, muſt ſet it where he did:
He that to proud men talkes, muſt put on pride;
And when h'hath done, 'tis good to lay't aſide.

3. For, *Yes, but you ſpeak at three thouſand miles diſtance, which every Coward dare doe,* read, *if my heart deceives me not, I would ſpeak thus, in the Preſence Chamber* or *Houſe of Commons*; hoping *Homer* will ſpeak a good word for me.

Θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων
Ἔσσεται. ———

Omnibus

Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax
Sit licet hoſpes, & è longinquis venerit oris.

When Kings are loſt, and Subjects caſt away,
A faithfull heart ſhould ſpeak what tongue can ſay:
It skils not where this faithfull heart doth dwell,
His faithfull dealing ſhould be taken well.

4. For, *affected termes*, read, *I hope not*——— If I affect termes, it is my feebleneſſe; friends that know me, think I doe not: I confeſſe, I ſee I have here and there taken a few finiſh ſtitches, which may haply pleaſe a few Velvet eares; but I cannot now well pull them out, unleſſe I ſhould ſeame rend all. It ſeemes it is in faſhion with you to ſugar your papers with Carnation phraſes, and dapple your ſpeeches with new quodled words. Ermins in Minifer is every mans Coat. Yet we heare ſome are raking in old muſty Charnel books, for old mouldy monoſyllables; I wiſh they were all baniſht to *Monmouthſhire*, to return when they had more wit.

Multa renaſcentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc ſunt in honore vocabula, ſi volet uſus. Hor.

I honour them with my heart, that can expreſſe more than ordinary matter in ordinary words: it is a pleaſing eloquence; them more, that ſtudy wiſely and ſoberly to inhance their native language; them moſt of all, that eſteem the late ſignificant ſpeech, the third great bleſſing of the Land; it being ſo enriched, that a man may ſpeake many tongues in his Mothers mouth; and an uplandiſh Ruſtick, more in one word than himſelfe and all the Pariſh underſtands. Affe-

cted termes are unaffecting things to ſolid hearers; yet I hold him prudent, that in theſe faſtidious times, will helpe diſedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I ſpeak the rather becauſe, not long ſince, I met with a book, the beſt to me I ever ſaw, but the Bible, yet under favour, it was ſomewhat underclad, eſpecially by him who can both excogitate and expreſſe what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

The world is growne ſo fine in words and wit,
That pens muſt now Sir Edward Nich'las *it.*
He that much matter ſpeaks, ſpeaks ne'r a whit.
If's tongue doth not career't above his wit.

5. For, *You verſe it ſimply, what need have we of your thin Poetry*; read, I confeſſe I wonder at it my ſelf, that I ſhould turne Poet: I can impute it to nothing, but to the flatuouſneſſe of our diet: they are but ſudden raptures ſoone up, ſoone downe.

--*Deductum dicere Carmen*, is highly commended by *Macrobius*.

Virgil himſelf ſaid,

Agreſtem tenui meditabor arundine muſam.

Poetry's a gift wherein but few excell;
He doth very ill, that doth not paſſing well.
But he doth paſſing well, that doth his beſt,
And he doth beſt, that paſſeth all the reſt.

6. For, *tedious neſſe*, read, *I am ſorry for it*—We have a ſtrong weakneſſe in N. E. that when wee are ſpeaking, we know not how to conclude: wee make many ends, before we make an end: the fault is in the Climate;

Climate; we cannot helpe it though we can, which is the Arch infirmity in all morality: We are ſo near the Weſt pole, that our Longitudes are as long, as any wiſe man would wiſh, and ſomewhat longer. I ſcarce know any Adage more gratefull: than *Grata brevitas. Verba confer maxime ad compendium.* Plaut.

Coblers will mend, but ſome will never mend,
But end, and end, and end, and never end.
A well-girt houre gives every man content,
Sixe ribs of beefe, are worth ſixe weeks of Lent.

For, *all my other faults, which may bee more and greater than I ſee,* read, *I am heartily ſorry for them,* before I know them, leaſt I ſhould forget it after; and humbly crave pardon at adventure, having nothing that I can think of, to plead but this,

Quiſquis inops peccat, minor eſt reus. Petron.

Poore Coblers well may fault it now and then,
They'r ever mending faults for other men.
And if I worke for nought, why is it ſaid,
This bungling Cobler would be ſoundly paid?

So farewell England *old*
If evill times enſue,
Let good men come to us,
Wee'l welcome them to New.

And farewell Honor'd Friends,
If happy dayes enſue,
You'l have ſome Gueſts from hence,
Pray welcome us to you.

And farewell ſimple world,
If thou'lt thy Cranium mend,
There is my Laſt and All,
And a Shoem-Akers
End.

FINIS.

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